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THE FRENCH IN RHODE ISLAND

I—EXPEDITION OF COUNT D'ESTAING—1778

THERE is no more beautiful instance of national gratitude than the affection with which France is regarded by the American people. While the traditional policy of the United States, the wise legacy of the Father of his country, has prevented any direct assistance to France in her many struggles, our sympathy and moral support have never failed her. Our regard has outlived the contemptuous encroachments of the first, and the unfriendly diplomacy of the second Empire; and now that, after nearly a century of struggle against the combined powers of Europe, the prejudices of her own higher classes, the faithlessness of her rulers, and the repressive forces of military power, she has shaken off the last shackle which bound her strong and noble limbs, and with firm and stately step entered upon full possession of her government, these American States, which she helped to found, return the cry with which their own declaration of independence was greeted—the cry of Live the Republic.

In its origin the sympathy of the United States for France was as sudden as in its continuation it has been steadfast. It sprung into life full grown in a moment. In the history of the two countries there is no evidence of any premonitory symptoms. The espousal of the cause of the people of the American colonies dissipated, as by the wand of enchantment the antipathy which the ancestral feud of the mother country with her rival across the channel had given to them as an inheritance, and the hot struggles of a hundred fields on the American Continent had perpetuated and heightened. Besides the feeling of national gratitude, which makes the name of France sacred to every true American, there still exists a lively recollection of the personal qualities of the gallant men who shared the privations, the dangers and the triumphs of

the American army. Wherever they lived, or camped or marched, their discipline, their manners and their charming social qualities endeared them individually to the populations whom they visited.

Before passing to a recital of the incidents of their sojourn in Rhode Island, a glimpse of the events which immediately determined the dispatch of an expeditionary corps to aid the Americans in their struggle may not be thought superfluous. A few general reflections will properly precede the narrative. It is quite the habit of historians, and particularly of French historians, to claim that the fall of the Bastille in 1789 was the opening of the Great Revolution. This is true in no sense of the word. It was in America that the universal aspiration towards individual liberty, under which the Continent of Europe was heaving during the middle of the eighteenth century, found first expression. The cry of "no taxation without representation" was the first distinct formula of the popular yearning. It was the volley of musketry that met the English troops at Lexington, before which the secular walls of the Bastille crumbled, and with it the first of a hundred thrones.

The declaration of hostilities was received with intense satisfaction by the French aristocracy. In no country is national spirit greater than in France; and the nobility, who owned the larger part of the land, and held all the great posts of trust, considered the honor of the country as in their keeping. Their pride had been deeply wounded by the mortifying conditions of the Treaty of 1763, the most glorious and advantageous to the arms of England, the most restrictive to the ambition of France in the history of the countries. By it France had virtually surrendered her claim to participate in the empire of the Western continent, where for more than a century she had maintained a not unequal control, and over which her fondest dream had been to acquire undisputed dominion.

The generous inspiration of Lafayette to abandon favor and promotion, and the delights of domestic felicity for service in the cause of liberty was not confined to his own young and manly breast. His example was immediately followed by numbers of the first gentlemen. Sympathy with America became the fashion in the higher circles of the gay court. The hesitation of the Government to sanction any overt movement in the almost hopeless condition of the finances of the kingdom was amply compensated by the ardor which inflamed not only the men, but the ladies of the capital. During the earlier half of the eighteenth century the favorites of the monarch had exercised a direct influence upon public affairs, and the influence of women, constantly

increasing, had become so powerful that they have been said to have so gotten the upper-hand at the period of the revolt of the American colonies "as to have subjugated the men to such an extent that they only felt or thought as the women felt." When, on the death of Louis the Fifteenth, the throne passed into the hands of Louis the Sixteenth, it was but the throne that passed. Marie Antoinette, by the same stroke of fortune, inherited the power that Du Barry had wielded; through the affection of the King she moulded the destinies of the State; and Marie Antoinette espoused the American cause.

The declaration of war, however, immediately checked the departure of the French youth as volunteers for the American service. To the French nobility, the most exclusive of Europe, the King was the fountain of honor. The proud cognomen of the Grand Monarque, *Le Roi Soleil*, and his device of the sun in meridian glory, was no vain boast. *Dieu et le Roi* was the sentiment of every nobleman in the kingdom. There were other reasons also why they preferred the King's service. The hopes of many of the volunteers who had crossed the seas had been sadly disappointed. They had encountered the difficulty of a strange language, the prejudice of religion, the antagonism of race, and the jealousies of the American youth, which not even political sympathy or common aspiration towards a larger liberty were always sufficient to overcome. Now, however, the path was smooth; the way of glory was the way to certain advancement as well, and the ranks of the service were rapidly filled. Among the most ambitious and distinguished of the officers already in the service was the Count d'Estaing.

At the instance of Count d'Estaing the Queen, little foreboding that the success of the revolt of the American colonies against the English crown would be the forerunner of a revolution, in which the crown of France and all that she held dear would be engulfed, herself persuaded the king to direct a naval expedition to be organized; Count d'Estaing was ordered with his squadron to the American coast, carrying with him Gérard de Rayneval with diplomatic powers to acknowledge the independence of the American Colonies, and to concert a scheme of offensive war. The squadron consisted of twelve ships of the line and four frigates. The Count hoisted his flag on the *Languedoc*. On the *Languedoc* also returned Silas Deane, one of the Commissioners of the United States to the Court of France. He brought with him letters from Vergennes and the special commendation of the king.

The fleet left Toulon the 13th of April, 1778, and passed the Straights of Gibraltar the night of the 17th to 18th May. On the 20th the

captains of the vessels opened their sealed dispatches, and learned their true destination. The Count d'Estaing was ordered to open hostilities at forty leagues distance west of Cape St. Vincent. High mass was held the same morning with great pomp on board the *Languedoc*. All the chief officers assisted in full-dress uniform. The commander's pennant and the national ensign were hoisted, and the ship decorated. The orders of reprisal and prize distribution were read amid the cheers of the crew and cries of *Vive le Roi*. The campaign was opened.

The time of sailing of the Count d'Estaing, and the secrecy of his destination, gave him reasonable assurance of surprising and defeating the squadron of Lord Howe, which was held at the mouth of the Delaware to cover the position of Sir Henry Clinton at Philadelphia. To effect this, and to anticipate any reinforcement of the British fleet, celerity of movement was requisite. Unfortunately the French fleet was badly composed; the vessels of widely unequal speed; thus the rapid sailers were kept back by the slower vessels. Moreover, the Count d'Estaing wasted valuable time in numerous useless evolutions. Land was only seen in July. On the 8th, eighty-seven days after their departure from Toulon, the fleet anchored off the mouth of the Delaware. The bird had flown. Sir Henry Clinton, obeying orders from home, had evacuated Philadelphia on the 22d June, and the army and fleet were now safe in the harbor of New York.

On the 11th Congress, which was then sitting at York, was informed by a letter from Silas Deane (written on the 10th) that the fleet was arrived in Delaware Bay, and measures were at once taken to supply a sufficient number of skillful pilots acquainted with the coast.

Dispatching the Frigate *Chimère* to Philadelphia to convey M. Gérard, the ambassador to Congress, D'Estaing set sail with his fleet, and came to anchor off Shrewsbury; but the determined attitude of Admiral Howe, who had strengthened himself by arming some transports, and the unwillingness of the American pilots, who went on board the *Languedoc* on the 16th, to take the larger vessels, which drew twenty-three, twenty-four and twenty-five feet of water, across the New York bar, effectually prevented any offensive action. On the 20th D'Estaing called a council of his captains, and in their presence offered one hundred and fifty thousand francs to the pilots, if they would attempt the passage, but they declined the undertaking as sure to end in failure.

Meanwhile Congress had directed General Washington to cooperate with the Count d'Estaing in the execution of such offensive operations

against the enemy as they should mutually approve, and empowered him to call upon the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York and New Jersey for the aid of their militia. An expedition to capture the British garrison in Rhode Island was arranged by Washington. General Sullivan, who was placed in command of the district of Rhode Island, was directed to form the American troops into two divisions, to the command of which Greene and Lafayette were assigned. The cooperation of d'Estaing was secured.

On the 22d July the French fleet raised anchor, and set sail to the southward, but changed their course as soon as they were out of sight of the English. The English forces in Rhode Island were under command of General Pigott and concentrated at Newport. The plan of attack agreed upon by the allies was that General Sullivan should land on the north of the island, protected by the French fleet, while d'Estaing would also force the passage of the principal channel, and take the fortifications of the town in reverse.

On the 29th of July the French fleet dropped anchor at the mouth of the great middle channel. The *Fantasque* and *Sagittaire* were ordered to watch the Narragansett or western passage, while the frigates *Aimable*, *Alcmène* and the corvette *Stanley* should anchor in the eastern passage, where the water was too shallow for vessels of heavier draft. The holding of these three passages cut off the retreat of the English vessels in the bay. At daylight on the 5th of August the *Sagittaire* and *Fantasque* sailed up the western passage, doubled the point of Conanicut Island, and dropped anchor in the middle passage. A number of English vessels were set on fire and destroyed, Commander Suffren with French generosity abstaining from firing upon the boats which landed their crews. The *Protecteur* and the *Provence* then took the positions of the *Sagittaire* and the *Fantasque* at the mouth of the Narragansett pass.

On the 8th of August, Sullivan announcing himself as ready to cross from the main land to Rhode Island, Count d'Estaing forced the middle passage with eight vessels under a heavy fire of the English batteries. In the night of the 8th Sullivan landed ten thousand men and a large force of artillery at the northern end of the island. On the morning of the 9th four thousand soldiers and sailors were landed from the fleet on Conanicut Island to be organized and drilled. This corps was intended to cooperate with the American forces, and to act under the orders of d'Estaing in person, who as a Major-General in the army

as well as an Admiral was entirely competent to the command. Well concerted as these arrangements appear to have been, they were nevertheless destined to fail in their purpose. Procrastination and delay were again to postpone the hour of action. In the first instance it has been shown, and here we quote the authority of M. le Capitaine Chevalier, whose admirable History of the French Marine during the War of American Independence supplies the most accurate details on record of its movements; in the first instance the plans of the French Government were defeated by the delay of the fleet in crossing the Atlantic. In the second, which now comes under notice, the plans of the allied forces were to fall to the ground from the delay of General Sullivan in his preparatory movements, a delay, which Bancroft has characterized as a whim.

While the precious hours between the 29th of July and the 9th of August were slipping away, and with them the golden opportunity which once lost never returns, Lord Admiral Howe was straining every nerve to succor the beleaguered garrison of Newport. Fortune favored his efforts. In the July days that followed the departure of the French fleet from Shrewsbury harbor, four British men-of-war had arrived at Sandy Hook from different quarters; one that had been separated from the fleet of Admiral Byron, two from Halifax and one from the West Indies. Thus reinforced, Admiral Howe felt strong enough again to put to sea, and on the 6th left Sandy Hook with thirteen ships, one of seventy-four, seven of sixty-four, five of fifty guns, seven frigates, and a number of transports, laden with troops, provisions and munitions of war. His appearance off the Rhode Island coast during the day of the 9th August, at the very time which, but for his arrival, would have proved what is termed in modern parlance the "psychological moment," for the British garrison, compelled an immediate change in the dispositions of d'Estaing. The men and material landed on Conanicut Island were immediately reembarked, offensive movements abandoned and measures taken to defend the entrance of the Bay. The French officers were eager for the encounter.

On the 10th a breeze stirring from the north-northeast, the French squadron cut their cables, and sailed out of the harbor. Admiral Howe, surprised by the rapidity of their movements, hastily signalled such of his vessels as had come to anchor, and stood out to sea under full sail. He thus avoided an unequal engagement, and drew the French from their positions. The superior sailing qualities of the English vessels, which the authority already mentioned frankly admits as decisive on

many important occasions, here in the first encounter on the American coast were plainly shown. The French were unable to force their enemy to an engagement. The next day the wind increased to a gale, and the two squadrons were separated and scattered. The want of homogeneity, in composition and speed, of the vessels of the French fleet now proved to be an element not only of disadvantage, but of positive danger. On the morning of the 13th the French Admiral found himself alone, with his ship *Le Languedoc* badly injured by the heavy storm, her bowsprit broken, her rigging down, and the helm of her rudder gone. In this situation she was attacked towards sunset by one of the enemy's vessels, who took advantage of her distress and raked her from the rear. The *Languedoc* was gallantly defended by her stern battery until darkness put an end to the conflict. The next morning all the vessels, except the *César*, rallied to the Admiral's flag. The squadron was again anchored, the *Languedoc* refitted with rigging and the damages to the other vessels repaired. The *Marseillais*, also attacked, had lost her mizzen-mast and bowsprit. Sail was again hoisted on the 17th, and on the 20th the fleet came to anchor off Rhode Island. Here d'Estaing was informed by Lafayette, who went in person on board the *Languedoc*, of a new peril.

On learning of the departure of the squadron of d'Estaing from Toulon, the British Admiralty ordered Admiral Byron to the American coast to reinforce Admiral Howe. Byron left Plymouth on the 12th June with thirteen vessels. Heavy weather dispersed the squadron. The Admiral himself put into Halifax, but others of the fleet within a few days arrived at New York. The British squadron was now superior in number and guns, while two of the best of the French vessels, the *Languedoc* and the *Marseillais*, were seriously disabled. A council of all the superior officers and captains was called by d'Estaing on board the *Languedoc*, when it was unanimously agreed that not a moment's delay should be made in making the port of Boston, where damages could be repaired in full security.

General Sullivan, who had impatiently awaited the return of the French to begin hostilities, was grievously disappointed, and endeavored to induce the Count d'Estaing to reconsider his decision; but without result; the situation was too grave to admit of delay, and on the 21st the squadron weighed anchor and set sail for Boston, which it reached in safety the 28th of the same month. This sudden departure placed General Sullivan in a difficult position, from which he extricated himself without serious loss, and with credit to himself and

his army. On the 31st of August he was safe on the mainland. The next day Sir Henry Clinton reached Newport with four thousand men, and an escort of several men-of-war. General Sullivan, chafing under his disappointment, indulged in unbecoming censure of the conduct of d'Estaing, and aroused a strong feeling against the French, which culminated in a riot in Boston, in which two of the officers of the fleet, Messieurs de Saint Sauveur and Pléville de Peley, were dangerously injured, the former mortally. The crisis was critical. A single false step might alienate the good will of the French Government, and turn back the feeling of friendship which had been brought to practical result with such difficulty. D'Estaing, with prompt spontaneity, which showed the elevation of his character, immediately offered to march his men overland from Boston to Newport to cooperate in an attack of the post. Fortunately the leaders of opinion were equal to the emergency. The indiscreet words of General Sullivan were disavowed by Washington and Greene, and even Congress, alarmed at the gravity of the emergency, adopted a resolution, bearing witness to its "appreciation of the zeal and attachment the Count d'Estaing had shown to the cause of the United States on several occasions, and especially in the noble and generous offer to march from Boston at the head of his troops to cooperate in the reduction of Rhode Island." The safe withdrawal of the American troops to the mainland rendered any such movement unnecessary.

Thus closed in defeat and disappointment the first visit of the French forces to the shores of Rhode Island. The overawed patriots, who still remained in Newport under the domination of the British garrison, here first saw the royal standard of France, with its golden fleur de lys on the broad field of white, floating in friendly guise. It is easy to imagine the joy which filled their hearts as the noble squadron sailed up the broad channels of the beautiful bay, and their sinking disappointment as the fleet of succor weighed final anchor, and under the pressure of an inexorable necessity spread their sails and took their eastern course. Not yet, however, had the citizens of the charming town made acquaintance with the personnel of the fleet, among whom was the flower of the French navy, men of fortune and of rank, all eager to shed their blood, if need be, in the cause of Liberty. Chief among the officers was the famous Bailli de Suffren, who had forced the middle passage with the *Fantasque* and the *Sagittaire*, and was to acquire fresh reputation in later campaigns.

Notwithstanding the failure of the main purpose of the expedition

its results were not without honor to the French arms. The English frigates *Grand Duke*, of forty guns; *Orpheus*, *Lark*, *Juno* and *Flora*, of thirty-two; *Cerberus* of twenty-eight; the corvettes *King Fisher*, *Falcon*, and some smaller vessels were burned by the English to avoid capture in the harbor; the corvette *Senegal* and a bomb ketch fell into the power of the French fleet after the storm of the 11th of August.

The operations of the French fleet along the coast and in the West Indies during the winter, and the check of the allies before Savannah in the fall of 1779, need not here be related. The presence of the French fleet on the coast compelled the British commanders to exercise the greatest circumspection in the uncertainty of what point might be next attacked, paralyzed their offensive efforts, and caused a concentration of their forces at New York. Among the important consequences was the hasty evacuation of Rhode Island on the 25 October. The next morning the American troops which had been stationed at Tiverton and Bristol crossed to the Island and took possession of Newport.

The fleet, which had left Toulon the 13th April, 1778, recalled by M. de Sartines, reached France on their return in the month of December, 1779. Notwithstanding his well-earned character for dash, bravery and patriotism, the Count d'Estaing did not carry home with him an increase of reputation. His officers entertained but slight opinion of his seamanship and conduct as a naval commander. The honors of the campaign were with the Bailli de Suffren, d'Orvillier, de Guichen, La Motte Picquet and others.

II—EXPEDITION OF COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU—1780—I

Among those whom the prospects of an European war determined to return to France to take service under the King, was the Marquis de Lafayette. A Major-General in the service of the United States, he received from Congress on the 21st October, 1778, an indefinite leave of absence, and the Minister at the Court of Versailles was directed to present him with a sword of honor in the name of the United States. Moreover, he carried a letter of special recommendation from Congress to the King. He was at this time in his twenty-second year. He sailed from Boston on the 11th January, 1779, on board the *Alliance*, a frigate of thirty-six guns, which the King had placed at his disposal. The arrival of the brilliant young nobleman

was an event in the gay capital. The King gave him the command of a regiment of dragoons, and he entertained hopes of immediate active service. Before joining his regiment, he used his prestige and great social influence to promote the interest of his friends beyond the sea. His entreaties for succor of vessels and money were incessant. Possessing the confidence of the Governments of both countries, he became the tie between them. The fear of a revival of the old colonial prejudice against the French nation, and the jealousy, which had already shown itself in the Continental army, of the French officers, for a long time restrained Lafayette from asking the Ministry for any assistance in men. Indeed, he had left America with an understanding that no such request should be made. Notwithstanding this injunction, and assuming the responsibility of the step, he made direct application to the Ministry early in 1780, and in a letter of the 20th of February to M. de Vergennes submitted a plan of operations for an expeditionary corps, to consist of thirty-six hundred men, to be under his personal command. Later, considerations presented themselves which decided him to resume his command in the American army.

Charged with private dispatches for Congress, he sailed from Rochefort on the 6th March in the King's frigate *Hermione*, of thirty-six guns, Chevalier de la Touche, commander, and arrived at Boston on the 27th April. He was received with acclamation and demonstrations of popular joy, and carried in triumph to the house of Governor Hancock. He at once informed Washington that he had intelligence of the last importance for his own ear, and on the 2d May set out for Headquarters at Morristown, which he reached the 10th May. The news which he brought was of the definitive intention of the French Court to send a fleet and army to cooperate with the Americans, and the rapid organization of the expeditionary corps. The details had been agreed upon before the departure of the Marquis from France, and for a time were kept a profound secret by Congress and the high military authorities. The British Government, however, were early aware of the equipment of the squadron at Brest destined for America, and in March Sir Henry Clinton was advised that Canada was probably aimed at. Perhaps it was known that this was the open desire of Lafayette. Indeed, it was only the jealousy of de Vergennes of any further aggrandizement of American power that prevented the expedition taking that direction.

State secrets, however, when they concern the movement of fleets and armies, are rarely secrets long. On the 17th May Rivington's *Royal Gazette*, the Tory sheet of New York City, announced that

"the Marquis de la Fayette had his audience of leave of his Majesty on the 29th of last month (February) on his return to America, where he is to serve under the Comte de Rochambeau, who goes out with the regiments de Bourbonnais, Auvergne, Saintonge, Neustrie, Roverque, Royal Deux-Ponts, Royal Corse and Anhalt; they are to march for Brest the 15th of this month. All the Colonels of these regiments are ordered to set out the 25th, to be present at the embarkation." The news spread with rapidity, though as yet there was only speculation as to where the fleet would make a landing. Upon his departure from Paris, 5th March, 1780, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, to avoid mistake or delay, had ordered Lafayette to post officers at Cape Henry and on the Rhode Island coast to watch the arrival of the fleet, and convey to it all requisite information as to the plans of the Americans and the position of the enemy. In accordance with these instructions, the Marquis on the 19th May, 1780, wrote in duplicate to the Count de Rochambeau and Admiral de Ternay, commander of the French squadron, with an elaborate exposition of the state of affairs, and the wishes of General Washington. The original was handed to M. de Galvan with instructions to proceed to the mouth of the Chesapeake, where the fleet would probably first make land, and copies were also sent by trusty messengers to Point Judith, and Seaconnet, the western and eastern points of the main-land coast of Rhode Island.

Steps were now taken for the reception and supply of the expected reinforcements. Congress, which had passed resolutions expressive of their satisfaction at the return of Lafayette, raised a committee to receive such communications as he had to make concerning the campaign, and to confer with the Chevalier de la Luzerne, the French Minister to the United States. Later information was received, to the effect that the fleet would "in the first instance touch at Rhode Island, for the purpose of landing their sick and supernumerary stores, and to meet the intelligence necessary to direct their operations." This was communicated by Washington to Major-General Heath, who was then at his house in Roxbury on a temporary leave of absence from his command of the Highland posts. He was directed immediately to repair to Providence, to be ready to present himself to the French commanders on their arrival, with an offer of his advice and services. To no person could this delicate mission have been more safely entrusted than to Heath, in whose judgment Washington placed implicit confidence. He was of New England origin, and had only recently been transferred from the command of the Eastern District to

his new and important post. He was also instructed to establish a market between the fleet and army and the country, that the allies might not be imposed upon in their purchases. Heath left his house on the 15th, and reached Providence the next day, being met at the Patucket Bridge by Deputy Governor Bowen and others of the principal gentlemen of the town. Dr. Craik was sent on by Washington to take up houses for hospitals, and make other sanitary arrangements. Congress also busied itself in preparation. On the 29th May it called upon the several States to complete their battalions of the army with all possible dispatch. On the 5th June, by their President, they introduced to the Rhode Island Government Monsieur Louis Ethis de Corny, who had been appointed Commissary-General of the French forces. De Corny held the commission of Lieutenant-Colonel of Cavalry in the United States Army. He happened to be at Versailles when the expedition was concerted, and though not attached to it, obtained the appointment. He was escorted to Providence by a troop of horse; the Government ordered a house to be vacated for his accommodation, and at his request the handsome college building in the city, a large edifice in a salubrious situation, was given up for a hospital for the sick. On the 2d July, General Heath received news that the fleet left France on the 20th May, and that it was rumored there that if it fell to the northward, it would visit Halifax; if to the southward, it would proceed to Rhode Island.

The 4th of July, the anniversary of American independence, was celebrated at Providence with universal glee. Thirteen cannon were fired from the Park, and the Governor, the French Commissary and a number of gentlemen dined with General Heath.

The command of the French squadron was entrusted to Monsieur de Ternay, Chef d'Escadre. His fleet consisted of seven ships of the line: the Duc de Bourgogne, eighty guns; the Neptune and Conquérant, of seventy-four; the Provence, Eveillé, Jason, and Ardent, of sixty-four; three frigates, the Surveillante, Amazone, and Gentille, of thirty guns. Besides these were the corvette Fantasque, of twenty guns, armed *en flûte*, which was fitted as a hospital ship, and carried the heavy artillery, the treasure and numerous passengers, and the cutter La Guêpe, fourteen guns; in all, twelve vessels carrying six hundred and eighteen guns; the transports were thirty-two in number, upon which the expeditionary corps of five thousand was embarked. On the night of the 20th May, the wind turning to the northeast, the squadron, which had been at anchor at Bertheaume, in the roadstead of Brest, set

sail. Although detained for several days in the gulf of Biscay by a sudden change of wind, the fleet gained an offing without meeting a single hostile cruiser. M. de Ternay had not been without apprehension that his movements would be interfered with by the squadron which Admiral Graves was known to be fitting out at Portsmouth, for the express purpose of pursuing and forcing him to action. On the 20th June, the French fleet was to the southwest of the Bermudas, running rapidly before the wind, when five British vessels were signalled to the northeast, bearing straight down. Order of battle was formed, and the transports sent to leeward. The hostile vessels were part of a division of Commodore Cornwallis, returning to the Antilles after escorting a convoy to the Bermudas. The English, discovering that they were in presence, not of a merchant fleet, but a superior armed force, changed their course. One of the English vessels became separated from her companions, and would have fallen a prey to de Ternay, had not his prudence dictated to him the danger of an action which might expose his convoy. The two squadrons held the same course during the day, but under cover of the night the English Commodore turned to the southward, and M. de Ternay held on his way to the American coast. On the 4th July, just before dark, he arrived at the mouth of the Chesapeake, where his frigates signalled to him the presence of ten or twelve sail at anchor in the bay. Fearing that the strange vessels might make part of the squadron of Arbuthnot, who was on the American station, or of Graves, who was expected, de Ternay, with commendable judgment, changed his course several times during the night, and the next day steered straight for Rhode Island.

As they neared the land they entered one of the heavy fogs for which the coast is famous. They were heartily weary of the long protracted passage. The condition of the sick was such that one who was of the expedition, Commissary Blanchard, relates that it was questionable whether even an action would be more murderous than a longer stay at sea. Perhaps the fog lifting might reveal the presence of an enemy in superior force. Finally at four o'clock in the afternoon of the 9th land was descried from the masts of the *Conquérant*; it had already been signalled by a merchantman who had been captured. It was Martha's Vineyard that was seen. The moment was one of excitement; the sick came out from their beds with joy. No enemy was in sight. At eight o'clock the fleet hove to. Early in the morning of the 10th it again weighed anchor; about noon pilots came on board from the neighboring islands to offer their services. The fleet again anchored

at ten. On the morning of the 11th sail was made, but the weather being foggy, and the signal of danger being made by one of the convoy, the fleet anchored again. About eight o'clock the fog lifted, and the shore line was distinctly visible. Point Judith, only a league distant; beyond, the Newport point, and what was most satisfactory, on each of the points of the shore, the French flag, white with golden fleur de lis, was discovered. This was the signal agreed upon with Lafayette that Rhode Island was safe in American hands, and the French would be well received. General de Rochambeau with his staff went at once on board the frigate *Hermione*, and sailed for Newport, where he landed before noon.

The prudence of de Ternay, in using all speed to reach his destination, and in avoiding any conflict which would in the least delay his course, was in happy contrast with the dilatoriness of d'Estaing in the preceding campaign. In fact, any other course might have seriously compromised the success of his mission, safely to land the expeditionary corps, an event from which the happiest consequences were expected by all the friends of the United States. Admiral Graves left Portsmouth in pursuit with seven vessels early in May. He met in the Channel the same westerly gale which detained the French squadron in the gulf. Compelled to turn back by stress of weather, he passed fifteen days in the port of Plymouth. Putting to sea again, he crowded sail to reach the American coast before the French, and on the 13th July, only forty-eight hours after the arrival of de Ternay at Rhode Island entered the port of New York, where he found Arbuthnot with four vessels. A few days later the French fleet would have found its course to Rhode Island blocked by eleven vessels.

The circumstances which attended the arrival of the squadron of de Ternay were in as striking contrast to those which met that of d'Estaing as the conduct of their commanders. The one was received with a hot and angry fire, and only entered the hostile harbor by sheer force; the second visit of the French to Rhode Island was welcomed with every demonstration of popular joy.

As soon as the squadron was safely anchored, the troops of de Rochambeau were landed. They sadly needed repose after their passage, more than a third being on the sick list on their arrival. The sick were immediately moved to the interior, where arrangements had been made for their reception, as has been previously shown, and the forts which defended the town were put in the possession of the French, who at once set to work to remodel and put them in a situation for defence.

The account of the forces given by the New York Tory sheet was not far from the truth. Owing to a want of transports, the regiments of Neustrie and Anhalt, with two or three hundred men of Lauzun's legion, were left in France. The troops embarked, five thousand and eighty-eight men, consisted of the regiments of Bourbonnais, Soissonnais, Saintonge, Royal Deux-Ponts, the latter an Alsacian regiment, about five hundred artillerymen and six hundred men of Lauzun's legion, three hundred of whom were intended for a troop of horse.

On the appearance of the fleet in the offing, a dispatch was sent to General Heath, at Providence, who was engaged preparing for their reception and provisioning by the establishment of an equitable market between the fleet and the country. The dispatch reached General Heath at one o'clock at night. On the 11th an express was sent to General Washington, whose headquarters were at Bergen county, in New Jersey, and General Heath took the packet down the bay to Newport. The day being calm, he only reached the harbor at midnight. The Count de Rochambeau had gone on shore in the evening. The next morning General Heath waited on the Count on shore. After breakfast he went on board the Duc de Bourgogne, and paid his respects to the Chevalier de Ternay. At ten the Admiral saluted the town with thirteen guns, which were returned with a like number. In the evening of the 12th, the town was beautifully illuminated, and thirteen grand rockets were fired in front of the State house, much to the delight of the French. A letter from Newport (published in the New Jersey Gazette, August 2, 1780) says of this occasion, in the stately style of the period, that the "brilliant appearance of the numerous Gentlemen, Officers of the fleet and army of our illustrious ally who were on shore, with that of the Ladies and Gentlemen of the town, and the joy which every friend to liberty expressed on the happy occasion, afforded a pleasing prospect of the future felicity and grandeur of this country, in alliance with the most polite, powerful and generous nation in the world."

On the 12th General Heath dined with the Count de Rochambeau. On the 13th the Chevalier de Ternay and the principal officers of the squadron went on shore. On the 14th the Count de Rochambeau and the General officers of the French army dined with General Heath, and in the days succeeding mutual entertainments were exchanged in what Heath terms "happy fraternity." Even this word "fraternity," later famous as one of the French revolutionary trilogy, antedated, it will be observed, the rising of 1789. It must not be imagined, however, that with all this gayety the Frenchmen found their bed one of roses, or enjoyed a lazy interval of repose.

The French troops, on their disembarkation, were immediately encamped across the island, covering the town, their left resting on the sea, and their right on the ships at anchor, which lay under the protection of batteries which de Rochambeau erected on commanding positions, and carefully flanked with earthworks. These batteries the French manned with their guns, which excited the surprise of the Americans. In the words of a contemporaneous account, "the great and small artillery landed by our generous allies, and disposed in different parts of this town and island, exceed anything of the kind ever seen here. They have brass cannon from 4 to 48 pounders, and in great plenty." Nor will any wonder at their admiration who has seen in our arsenals, as glorious reminders of the heroic days, the beautiful pieces of ordnance from the French foundries of the period, ornamented with wreaths and decorations, bearing baptismal names, and some cheering or loving device engraved in quaint lettering. Guns to love, to stand by, and die by, if duty calls, with pride. The disposition of the works and batteries was such that a rapid concentration could be made by interior lines on any threatened point. In twelve days the port was in a state of reasonable defense. The works were not yet completed when intelligence was received of the arrival of Admiral Graves at Sandy Hook on the 13th. Well might Rochambeau, as he frankly does in his memoirs, congratulate himself on de Ternay's prudent and successful avoidance of this fleet, from which they might have had rough usage.

On the 21st July, in the afternoon Admirals Graves and Arbuthnot made their appearance off the harbor with eleven vessels; one of ninety, six of seventy-four, three of sixty-four and one of fifty guns. The next day the number of the British vessels had increased to nineteen, of which eight or nine were line-of-battle ships. While they cruised off and on, the French squadron held their station, stretching from Rose Island to Goat Island Harbors. Hesitating to run the fire of the French, the British commanders concluded to await the arrival of Clinton, who was preparing a corps to repeat against the allies their own unsuccessful operation of 1778.

The news of the arrival of the French spread with great rapidity. The continent throbbed with it. The express of General Heath, with letters from Rochambeau, enclosing copies of his instructions from the King, reached Washington at headquarters at Bergen county on the 14th. It was carried by Colonel de la Rochefontaine. The same day it was announced to the troops, and received, in the words of an officer,

whose letter has been preserved, with great joy. It was known at Philadelphia, where Congress then held its sessions, on Sunday, the 15th. Nor were the enemy in their stronghold in New York far behind in gaining the intelligence. The preliminary movement had not escaped their observation. An article appeared in Rivington's Royal Gazette, so curious in its details and so characteristic of the Franco-phobia which animated the English of the eighteenth century as thoroughly as it does the Germans of the nineteenth, that it is given entire. "We are informed," the editor writes on the 16th, "that the rebels are busily employed in making fascines, gabions and other articles for carrying on military operations: as from the Marquis de Lafayette's report to Mr. Washington that the Chevalier de Ternay may be expected at this time to land a body of troops on this Continent; in which case possession of the land would be taken in the name of the French King; * * * however in this intention they probably will be molested by a power that has hitherto often proved too mighty for the united house of Bourbon. The prospect of a French army landing in the northern provinces alarms the Republican fraternity in Connecticut and Massachusetts. Should their Roman Catholic allies ever nestle themselves on one of the revolted States, it is apprehended their Independence must give way to the establishment of a French Government, laws, customs, &c., ever abhorrent to the sour and turbulent temper of a Puritan." On the 18th, news of the arrival of the fleet reached the city. On the 25th that of their landing on Conanicut was made public. On the 2d of August the same Tory sheet announced that "the French Admiral has taken possession of Rhode Island in the name of the King of France, and displayed the French colours without the least deference to the flag of their ally, the revolted Americans; this affords disgust and mortification to the rebels, evincing that their Roman Catholic friends intend to keep possession of all they seize on in North America." The rumor of the hoisting of the French flag no doubt sprung from the posting of the two French flags at the entrance of the harbor as signals of safety to the approaching fleet.

First impressions are rarely effaced. The courtly polish of the French contrasted strikingly with the overbearing arrogance which the colonists had, with rare exceptions, met from British officers. A Providence letter of the 22d, made public in the newspapers, is explicit on this point: "The French officers of every rank," it says, "have rendered themselves agreeable by that politeness which characterizes the French nation;" and adds that "the officers and soldiers wear cockades

of three colors, emblematic of a triple alliance between France, Spain and America." This seems to have been the first use of the tri-color. Such was the impression produced by the French. It is of equal interest to know how our plain, practical ancestors appeared to foreign eyes, accustomed to splendor and display.

Newport before the revolution was one of the most commercial cities on the continent. Its merchants traded with every port which the exclusive regulations of the British navigation laws left open to their enterprise. No town in the colonies was more prosperous, and in none was social life on a more generous scale. Close relations with Bristol, the most liberal of English cities, and a free intercourse with foreign countries gave to the little town a cosmopolitan coloring. If evidence be needed of the truth of this assertion, it may be found in the fact that there were in the city three hundred families of Jewish race; that peculiar people, whose steps for nineteen centuries have marked the commercial highways of the world, pausing only where they found liberty, if not freedom; toleration, if not perfect equality; and everywhere by their industry and patriotism adding to the prosperity of the people among whom they dwelled. In the enjoyment of material comforts, which successful trade brought to its merchant princes, the arts and sciences were not neglected. In the well-poised words of the accomplished orator, who summed up its history on the centennial of the national birthday: "The people of Newport in 1774 possessed as much wealth, enterprise, intelligence and refinement as any other place in America." Foreign languages were commonly understood here also, as the records of the great mercantile houses show. Spanish was the commercial medium of the last century, and French the *sine qua non* of a polite education.

The population of Newport, about nine thousand souls in 1774, had dwindled rapidly. It lost four thousand in the succeeding year. During the three years that it was in the British occupation, from 6th December, 1776, to the 25th October, 1779, the island had endured every form of suffering that the presence of an enemy could inflict. Its thick forests, luxuriant in the moderate and moist temperature; its extensive orchards, the fame of the fruit of which was European even; its numerous plantations of ornamental shrubbery, had all been cut down and consumed. Such had been the destruction, that in the severe winter of 1779-80 wood was sold at twenty dollars the cord, while corn brought four, and potatoes two dollars the bushel.

In an anonymous journal, which the indefatigable and lamented author of *Les Français en Amérique*, the late Thomas Balch,

rescued from oblivion, and which is ascribed by him to M. le Baron Cromot du Bourg, an aid of de Rochambeau, there is a curious description of Rhode Island and Newport, as they appeared to him at this period. He found the country in its irregularity not unlike parts of the Normandy coast. He was surprised to see the fields fenced in by rude walls of stones, piled one upon another, and by the large area covered by the villages, some of which, he relates, were four and five, and even fifteen miles long, with houses thinly scattered here and there. Rhode Island, he says, "must before the war have been one of the most agreeable spots in the world, as, in spite of the disasters it has been subjected to, its houses destroyed and all its woods cut down, it is still a most charming residence." The land seemed to him very much cut up. This was before the subdivision of French soil among small holders, it must be remembered, and therefore attracted his attention. A few of the fields were under cultivation; there were extensive orchards, as fine as in Normandy. There was but little game on the island, but great numbers of domestic animals. He notices particularly the horses, though he found them in small variety. They were excellent leapers, being early trained to this exercise; and he also remarks upon their peculiar gait, the French amble, of which they would not be cured; a life-like description of the Narragansett pacer. Of Newport he says that it is "the only town on the island, with but two principal streets, but still a pretty town. Three-fourths of the houses are scattered at a distance, and are in themselves small farms." In the houses the French found little to admire, the summit of architecture being a building of brick; but they speak with unstinted praise of their interior comfort.

Abundant letters remain to show the opinion the French officers formed of their American hosts. Rochambeau notices particularly the independence of religion from politics, the strict observance of the Sabbath, the universal hospitality, the liberty accorded to young women and the utter indifference of single women to married men. He praises the virtue of the women and their intelligent motherhood. In the dwellings of the rich merchants he found elegant English furniture, while the dresses of the ladies were of the last fashion of Paris. Memoirs of the officers contain personal notices also of the ladies whom they met. De Lauzun's description of the Hunter family, with whom he resided at Newport, is too familiar to be repeated. These charming ladies are only cited as a type of the breeding and culture of the higher social circles of the last century. The appetites of the Americans seem to

have greatly astonished the French. Four meals a day they found to be common. Indeed, they go so far as to say that our good forefathers spent most of their time at table.

A plan of the town of Newport, surveyed by Charles Blaskowitz, engraved and published by William Faden, Charing Cross, September 1, 1777, gives a perfect representation of the old town, as it essentially remains to-day. Thames and Spring streets were then as now the principal streets. The beautiful avenues and estates, which encircle the older city in arms of green, matchless in wealth of foliage and incomparable lawns of tender verdure, are a growth of this century. This excellent plan is not our only guide to the old city. There still exists in the possession of Mr. Henry T. Drowne of Rhode Island, now a resident of New York City, a French manuscript chart, giving a complete list of the houses occupied by the French officers, with the names of their owners, the streets in which they were, and even the street numbers. Here we find that the Count de Rochambeau was quartered in the house of William Vernon, in New Lane, No. 302, corner of Mary and Clarke streets; Baron de Vioménil, his *Maréchal de Camp*, at the house of Joseph Wanton, 214 Thames street, while de Tarlé, the Intendant, had his Quartermaster-General's office, at No. 274 of the same street; Desandrouins, Colonel of the Engineers, was at the house of Colonel John Malbone, 28 Thames street; and the afterwards famous Count de Fersen, the devoted adorer and faithful friend of Marie Antoinette, made his home with Robert Stevens, one of the principal merchants of the day. The Duke de Lauzun, gayest of the gay youths, found a welcome at the hands of Mrs. Deborah Hunter, at 264 Thames street. Of the high officers of the fleet, the Chevalier de Ternay lived at the (Colonel) Wanton house on the point, 608 Water street, and the gallant Destouches with William Redwood, at 627 of the same street. The Provost Marshal opened his office at the town prison, and the Paymaster knew that his chest would be safe, and perhaps his bills find easy discount, with the Jewish merchants Seixas and Levy, at 314 Rupert street. Some of the houses thus occupied still remain, or have only recently been destroyed. Of these, on or near Washington Square, the centre of the old town, the most celebrated are the Vernon Mansion, the Hunter House and the once elegant building, noted for its rich and elaborately furnished interior, then the dwelling of Mr. Levy.

While the newly landed troops were recovering their health and vigor in the genial climate, and the officers accustoming themselves to the simple manners they found on the primitive soil, Rochambeau and de

Ternay waited impatiently the arrival of the second detachment. The original expeditionary force was to have consisted of 7,683 men, but from the lack of transports 2,645 were left behind. The letter of Lafayette, which was placed in Rochambeau's hands on his arrival, had urged an immediate descent upon New York, which had been for a long time the point to which the mind of Washington was chiefly directed as the key of the seaboard. In the opinion of Rochambeau success was not sufficiently assured to risk the venture; indeed the superiority of the naval strength of the English had at once placed any movement of the allies, which involved a cooperation of the French fleet, out of the question.

Although the continent rejoiced over the new situation, Washington was anxious and impatient. In a letter of July 22d, to the Hon. Joseph Jones, as yet unpublished, although some of the same thoughts appear in other parts of his correspondence at this juncture (a letter preserved in the extensive collection of Mr. J. C. McGuire of the District of Columbia), Washington says: "This is a decisive moment, and I will go further and say *the* most important America has seen. The Court of France has made a glorious effort for our deliverance, and (if) we disappoint its intentions by our supineness we must become contemptible in the eyes of all mankind." Passing then to a consideration of the comparative situations of France and England, he draws the conclusion that France was not in a condition to endure the taxation, which another campaign would involve, for any duration. The circumstances of France therefore, as well as those of America, he concluded, called for peace, and to obtain it one great effort must at once be made. If the American States did their duty, the campaign might be made decisive, but the duty must be done in earnest, or disgrace would be the consequence. While thus, by public counsel and private appeal, urging the Legislatures to action, he pressed Rochambeau to movement with equal vigor. Lafayette, who shared his impatience, hurried to the French camp. He arrived in Newport on the 21st July, and at once submitted the plan, devised by Washington, of an attack on New York, to which Rochambeau objected the sanitary condition of his troops and his expectation of the arrival at any moment of at least twenty-five hundred men, and probably a much larger force; moreover, he added, the Chevalier de Ternay had written to Admiral de Guichen, who commanded the French fleet on the West-India Station, calling upon him to send the five vessels promised from his squadron, and concluded that he hoped to be ready to take part in the present campaign before its close,

and in the next, certainly, with greatly superior forces. A summary of this conversation was sent by Lafayette to Rochambeau immediately on his arrival at headquarters; Lafayette added that in his judgment the fate of America depended upon the activity of the French army during the summer, and complained that the occupation of Rhode Island was of no use to the Americans. Rochambeau replied in a vein of satire that he had never heard that the occupation of Rhode Island had done the Americans any harm; that the presence of the fleet left the American privateers free for excellent service; and closed by saying that he awaited the orders of his *Generallissime* (Washington), of whom he entreated an interview. This letter Lafayette answered by an apology, expressing his mortification to see the French fleet blockaded in Rhode Island and the troops inactive. De Rochambeau closed this part of their correspondence by reminding his impetuous young friend that even the port of Brest had been blockaded for more than two months by an English fleet, which had prevented the despatch of the second division, and added, referring to a movement of the troops, that he awaited the moment which promised certain success, saying, in words as creditable as they were true, "that he had an experience of command of forty years, and that of fifteen thousand men who had been killed or wounded under his orders, he could not reproach himself with the loss of a single person killed on his account." Washington was disappointed, and for a long time did not seem disposed to grant the interview Rochambeau requested. He pleaded the embarrassment of leaving his camp. De Ternay also positively declined to accede to Washington's urgent request to proceed to Sandy Hook, the passage of which was too dangerous for vessels of the draught of his seventy-fours.

On the 25th and 26th July intelligence arrived of an intended attack by Clinton with ten thousand men. General Heath at once ordered Colonel Greene, with his regiment of Continentals, to take post at Bristol Ferry, at the mouth of the Pocasset River, and on Butts' Hill to command the northern approaches to the island. He also called on the Governor of Rhode Island for fifteen hundred men, the militia regiments of Colonels Tyler and Perry and for eight hundred men, Massachusetts troops, under Brigadier Godfrey. Signals were put out as far as Watch Hill. On the 31st Heath was advised by Washington, who had crossed the Hudson with all the militia he could gather, that he was about to move down from the Highlands towards Kingsbridge, either to create a diversion or attack, as circumstances should favor. On Rhode Island all was bustle and activity. "The militia came

in with great spirit. They were formed into brigades, and every disposition made for instant and vigorous defence at every point where it was supposed an attempt might be made. The batteries were strengthened, a very strong one erected on Rose Island, and redoubts on Coasters Island; the strong works on Butts' Hill pushed; avenues across the fields, by the shortest routes, were opened from the encampment of the French army to those points where their instant presence might be judged necessary; and marks fixed, at small distances from each other, to prevent any mistakes in the routes either by day or night. Indeed no precaution was omitted, or probable advantage of ground or situation neglected. Had Sir Henry made the attempt which he menaced, he would undoubtedly have met a warm reception; but for some reason or other he gave up his design, and the militia were again sent home. Perhaps on no occasion, says General Heath, from whose diary this soldierly account is taken, "did the militia discover more ardour in pressing to the field, or more regularity when there, than at that time, which was everywhere testified by the inhabitants."

Clinton actually embarked six thousand men at Throg's Neck on transports, but, when everything was ready, he changed his mind, crossed the Sound to Huntington Bay, and disembarked at Whitestone on the 31st July. In a letter to Lord Germaine (August 14, 1780) he attributes his change of plan to the information he had of the attention the enemy had given to fortify themselves, and intimates some disagreement between himself and the Admiral. The rapid movement of Washington was no doubt the controlling cause. In the same letter Clinton abandons all idea of making any attack upon the allied forces.

On Monday, the 21st August, a committee of the General Assembly of the State, which was then sitting in Newport, waited on de Rochambeau with an address, congratulating him upon his safe arrival, expressing their hope that the campaign would result to the peace and happiness of the contending forces and mankind in general, and pledging their efforts to supply the necessary refreshments for the troops, and to render the service happy and agreeable to all ranks. A similar address was presented to Admiral de Ternay. The reply of Rochambeau was a model of wisdom. His words, carrying with them the authority of the King, spread rapidly over the country. His distinct declaration that he and his troops were subordinate to General Washington allayed the fear which existed among the Americans, that the French commanders would endeavor to maintain a distinct and independent authority; a fear which the British had done all in their power to aggravate. It satisfied the

people also that they need have no dread of a forced occupation of their homes, or a repetition of the supercilious insolence which had been one of the chief causes of discontent with the British garrisons.

Rochambeau, as has been seen, had determined to remain on the defensive until reinforcements should arrive, the French fleet be augmented to superiority over the English, or the British forces at New York be decreased by detachments to the southward. In the beginning of September news was received that de Guichen's squadron had been seen on the southern coast, and de Ternay entertained hopes of relief. Concert of action was now necessary. Clinton's quiet relieving Washington of the embarrassment he had felt of leaving camp, he wrote to Rochambeau, proposing an interview at Hartford on the 20th of September. The conference was gladly accepted, and took place as appointed. Knox, Lafayette and M. de Gouvion, a French officer, Chief of Engineers, were present with Washington, while the Marquis de Chastellux appeared with the French commander; a plan of operations was discussed and agreed upon, but was frustrated in the very moment of its conception by confirmation of the news of the arrival at New York of Admiral Rodney, from the West Indies, with a fleet of twenty-one vessels. The commanders hastily returned to their posts. The French forces had been left under the command of the Baron de Vioménil, who, extremely uneasy, had sent express after express to urge the return of his superiors. At the Hartford interview Washington was attended by six of his Aids, among whom were MacHenry and Hamilton, and Rochambeau by his Aids, the Counts de Fersen, Dumas and de Damas. The interview, quotes Bancroft, "was a genuine festival for the French, who were impatient to see the hero of liberty." De Fersen describes him as "illustrious, if not unique in our age. His fine and majestic face, while mild and frank, reflects his moral qualities. He looks the hero; he is very cold, speaks but little, but is polite and frank. An air of sadness overshadows his countenance, which is not unbecoming, and renders him yet more interesting."

Towards the close of September Admiral Rodney arrived off Newport. During the inaction of Arbuthnot the allies had strained every nerve to strengthen their position. Several works were thrown up at Brenton's Point and on the Conanicut and Race Islands, and armed with thirty-six and twenty-four pounders. The fire from these batteries crossing with that from the vessels secured the principal passages. After reconnoitering the position, the British Admiral abandoned the idea of an attack, and returned to New York. In November

Admiral Rodney set sail again for the Antilles, leaving twelve vessels to Admiral Arbuthnot, who took station in Gardner's Bay to watch the motions of the French fleet.

The monotony of the camp was occasionally relieved. On the 2d August the French were interested by the arrival of nineteen Indian warriors. This deputation had been arranged by General Schuyler in the hope of detaching the savage tribes from the English, and strengthening their union with the allies. During the colonial wars the French and the Iroquois had maintained friendly relations. Thirteen were selected from the Oneidas and Tuscaroras; the other five were Caghnawagas from the Sault St. Louis, near Montreal. They were accompanied by Mr. Deane as interpreter. The Canada Indians asked to hear mass on their arrival. Rochambeau received them with attentive ceremony and entertained them at dinner, on which occasion Blanchard says "they behaved themselves well, and ate cleanly enough." General Heath also gave them what he styles a "sumptuous treat." After dinner they performed their war dances before the officers of the armies to the delight of the French, who had never witnessed a similar performance. On the afternoon of Thursday, the 24th August, they were invited to witness a grand review of the French army, preceded by alternate discharges of cannon from the batteries in and around the town, and a *feu de joie* from the troops. Nothing, wrote an eye witness, could exceed the fine appearance of the troops, or the universal satisfaction of the great concourse of spectators.

The next day, Friday the 25th, the birth of His Most Christian Majesty, Louis XVI., was celebrated with great pomp. The ships of war were ornamented by a display of the colors of the different maritime powers, and fired a salute on the occasion. The French transports were also decorated with colors, and fired a salute in honor of the day. Never before had the birthday of a Catholic king or French monarch been celebrated in a town of protestant Englishmen; no more remarkable illustration of the change which had taken place in American sentiments; perhaps the initial dawn of the religious toleration now the just pride of the American nation. And not at Newport only, over which the white flag of France, floating gaily in the summer breeze, waved its protecting folds, but in every city not occupied by the enemy, and in the American camp, then pitched at Orangetown, similar honors were paid, while at Philadelphia the Chevalier de la Luzerne, the French Ambassador, gave an elegant entertainment, at which, amid great enthusiasm, toasts were pledged to the King, the United States and the commanders of the combined armies.

After dining on board the *Duc de Bourgogne* with the Admiral the Indians took their leave on the 2d September. Before they left the camp they were duly harangued by Rochambeau. They went away laden with presents, among which some red French blankets which greatly pleased them. On the 2d October the Chevalier de la Luzerne paid a visit to the camp. On the 6th a mock battle was fought on the island between a detachment of the French army and Colonel Greene's Continental regiment, to the interest and amusement of the spectators. The Indians marvelled much at the discipline of the French, and to find even the apples in the orchards untouched; all accounts concur in their remarkable respect for private property.

At the Hartford conference it was decided to send a trusty messenger to the French Court to hasten the despatch of the reinforcements and money to pay the troops, and the Vicomte de Rochambeau, Colonel of the regiment d'Auvergne, who was serving on the staff of his father, was selected for this delicate mission. On the 28th October, a gale of wind having dispersed the blockading squadron, La Perouse took advantage of the occasion, went out with the *Amazone*, and although hotly pursued, and losing her mainmast, got safely through. This was the La Perouse later famous for his voyages and discoveries.

The approach of winter brought with it new duties. The wood on the island having all been cut down and consumed it was impossible to hut the troops. Arrangements were made with the State authorities by which the damaged houses should be repaired at French expense and occupied as winter quarters. Twenty thousand livres, says Rochambeau in his memoirs, were spent in these repairs.

The corps took possession of their quarters in November; the regiment Bourbonnais first, the others in succession. The cavalry of de Lauzun's legion, with the artillery horses, was sent into Connecticut, where forage was plenty, to the Lebanon barracks. The Duke de Lauzun, who was a universal favorite, gave a ball in Providence on his way through on the 9th; de Chastellux followed him on the 12th; he was on a visit to Washington's camp; soon after the Marquis de Laval, the Baron de Custine and the Count de Deux-Ponts went on a tour to the interior. The Vicomte de Noailles and the Count de Damas also visited Washington at his headquarters at New Windsor, and were charmed with their reception. Rochambeau occupied himself in looking for quarters for the second division when it should appear, and passed through the towns of New London, Norwich and Windham in Connecticut, paying a visit to Lauzun at Lebanon upon his journey.

On his return to camp he found his fellow-commander, de Ternay, ill of a fever, but no alarming symptoms showing themselves, he continued his tour as far as Boston. While he was absent de Ternay fell a victim to his disease. He was taken on shore on the 14th, and died in the Hunter house on the 15th of December. On the 16th, the day being remarkably fine, the Admiral was buried with great pomp. The cortège was the most imposing ever seen in the streets of Newport. The land forces were all under arms; the sailors bore the coffin on their shoulders; at the grave the priests, nine in number, chanted the funeral service as the corpse was slowly consigned to the earth in the cemetery of Trinity Church. In 1785 an elegant monument was erected over the remains by order of the King of France. It was composed of a large and beautiful slab of Egyptian marble, with an inscription in gold. Below the inscription and between the brackets is an escutcheon charged with the insignia of the Knights Hospitallers of Saint John of Jerusalem. The slab was designed for the interior of the church, but as no suitable place could be found for it within the building, it was set over the grave, where it gradually crumbled under the exposure. It was first erected on the west side of the gate, but its position was changed in 1794 at the expense of the officers of the frigate *Meduse*. In 1873 it was restored at the expense of the United States, an appropriation of eight hundred dollars being unanimously voted for the purpose. This act of national patriotism was the occasion of an agreeable correspondence between the governments of the two countries. The restoration was executed under the direction of the Marquis de Noailles, then the French Minister to the United States, and the slab transferred to the vestibule of the church, where it now is. A granite stone was placed upon the tomb, in which lie the bones of the Admiral, with a short inscription, which, like that on the monument, is in Latin. The Admiral died, honored and beloved by friend and foe. Rivington announces his death in the *Royal Gazette* as that "of an officer of distinguished reputation; a gentleman of most excellent heart and amiable disposition; * * * a real ornament of the elegant nation from which he was derived." The command of the fleet now devolved on the Chevalier Destouches, the senior officer of the squadron, who carried out to the letter the instructions of his predecessor.

About Christmas a vessel from Nantes brought word of a change in the French Ministry, M. de Castries succeeding de Sartines as Minister of the Marine. This news was of the highest importance. To understand its full significance a short retrospect is necessary. De

Sartines, who had been the Minister of Marine from the 24th August, 1774, and a member of the King's Council since 1775, showed great capacity in building up the French navy, and but little skill in the use of it. He had neither the prestige nor the power to reform its innumerable administrative abuses. Accused by Neckar of irregularity in his accounts by an expenditure of an excess of twenty millions over the extraordinary credit granted the marine by the act of the 14th October, 1780, he had been dismissed from his post. His successor, the Marquis de Castries, had greatly distinguished himself as a military officer at the battle of Clostercamp, but had, as yet, shown no administrative powers. The importance of the change was the triumph of Neckar, whose fame as a successful financier was in its full meridian. Appointed Assistant Treasurer in 1776, and Director-General of the Finances in 1777, he was thoroughly familiar with the condition of France. He now undertook a thorough reform in the administration. In a *compte-rendu* of the expenses and receipts of the kingdom he showed an excess of revenue under the new regime, and convinced the capitalists of Europe of the solidity of France. The effect was instantaneous; his loans were freely taken, and the operations of the navy and army, which had languished, were at once resumed. The plans of the ministry were not yet made known, however, to the commanders in America. Indeed they were not even communicated with.

The weary hours of waiting for reinforcement were occasionally relieved by social gaieties. On the evening of the 3d January, 1781, the officers of the regiment of Royal Deux-Ponts gave an elegant ball to the ladies of Newport. The Duke de Deux-Ponts was himself the Colonel of the regiment which bore his name. The command belonged in his family, that of the Dukes of Deux-Ponts-Bischweiler of Alsace, where his men were enlisted. His brothers William and Charles were Lieutenant-Colonel and Major of the regiment. Where this entertainment was given does not appear. The great hall, constructed by the orders of Rochambeau for the assemblages of the officers, was not completed till later in the month. When finished it was their place of nightly resort.

On the 14th Rochambeau feeling some coolness in Washington's tone, dispatched de Fersen to "inquire into the cause of the dissatisfaction, heal the breach if possible, and if grave, inform him of it." It could not have been material or of long duration. About the same time de Lauzun, hearing of the revolt of the Continental troops, who had not been paid, hurried to Rochambeau to arrange for

a loan to America, but as yet no letter had been received from the Ministry, and the French commanders themselves were embarrassed. Indeed they had been compelled to abandon making full payment for their purchases in coin; they now gave one-half in Continental paper. The expedition had been ten months absent when, late in January, the frigate *Astrée* arrived at Boston with official news of the change in the Ministry, and word from the Marquis de Castries that the idea of sending a second division was abandoned. De Lauzun was indignant, and wrote a peremptory letter, demanding the men of his regiment, of which he was the proprietor.

On the 21st January Generals Knox and Lincoln and Colonel Laurens, son of the Envoy to France, who fell into the hands of the British, and was still confined in the Tower of London, visited the camp. Colonel Laurens was an Aid-de-Camp of Washington, and on his way to France with a special mission to the Court. Knox was particularly interested in the artillery, with which the French were abundantly supplied. In February, the weather becoming cold, the officers took great enjoyment in sleighing, and were astonished at the speed with which they were carried over the smooth, hard snow. On Tuesday, the 6th, the anniversary of the ever-memorable day when the Treaty of Alliance was signed, the Baron and Count Vioménil, young men who are described as of resplendent beauty, gave an elegant ball to the ladies of the town. The lady of General Greene, whose operations at the South were the theme of absorbing interest, graced the occasion with her presence. A letter written on the occasion says, the "decent gaiety and hilarity which characterized the assembly, afforded a convincing proof of the general satisfaction the alliance caused to both nations."

While the French fleet rode gently and safely at anchor behind the sheltering rocks of the Narragansett coast, the blockading squadron fared badly. Caught at sea in a heavy January gale, Arbuthnot lost one of his best vessels, another was dismantled, and a third driven far from shore. Learning of this, Captain Destouches, who was an ambitious as well as able officer, determined to take advantage of the temporary superiority this incident afforded him, and an expedition was rapidly combined. Dumas was sent to New London on the Connecticut shore to watch the British fleet which lay in serene quiet off the point of Long Island. Towards the close of February the French camp rung loud with the "note of preparation." The grenadiers and chasseurs held themselves in readiness for a start, and the fleet prepared for their embarkation.

In March happened an event in the history of the French in Newport, the influence of which upon the French troops can hardly be estimated now. The fame of Washington had reached the ear of the humblest attendant in the allied force. In the traditions of the army the hero of the French war was not forgotten. Now they not only looked upon him as the "principal personage on the American Continent," but, as one of their officers happily expressed it, "the strongest support of Liberty." On the 6th, a day ever memorable in the history of the town, he arrived in Newport. About two o'clock in the afternoon he reached Conanicut, where he found in waiting the barge of the French Admiral, which conveyed him directly to the Duc de Bourgogne. Here he was met by Rochambeau and the general officers of the army and fleet. On leaving the ship a salute was fired. Landing at Barney's ferry, the corner of the Long Wharf and Washington street, he was again met by the French officers, and escorted to the headquarters of Rochambeau in Clarke street, receiving the same honors that would have been paid to a Marshal of France or a Prince of the blood royal. His route was lined with the French troops, three deep on either side, in close order the entire distance. In the evening the fleet in the harbor and the entire city was illuminated, the town council having voted candles to all who were unable to provide themselves; a procession marched through the streets. In front walked thirty boys, each bearing a candle fixed on a staff, then Generals Washington and Rochambeau, their aids and officers, followed by a large concourse of citizens. The night was clear and calm, and the scene imposing and brilliant. Passing through the principal streets, the commanders returned to Headquarters.

Washington's purpose in visiting Newport was to witness the departure of the French fleet and detachment, which was leaving for the Chesapeake to cooperate in the movement of Lafayette against Arnold, and to arrange a scheme of concert. The troops, twelve hundred in number, one thousand infantry and one hundred and fifty artillery, were embarked on the day of his arrival. M. de Vioménil, who commanded the land forces, was on board the Duc de Bourgogne with the officers of the grenadier company of Bourbonnais. This vessel continued to be, as under de Ternay, the flagship. On the 8th Captain Destouches led the squadron from the bay. Washington and Major-General Howe, who accompanied him, set off on their return to headquarters, and were taken leave of with the same form and ceremony that marked their reception. The French army was

paraded in Broad street, and lined the road for some distance beyond the town, the general officers in the center. As Washington passed down the lines, he received every honor known to military usage, and as he reached Tammany Hall a salute of thirteen guns from the French artillery.

The expedition of Destouches was not successful. Pursued by Arbuthnot, whose superiority of speed gave him the weather guage, he was forced to an engagement, in which, though the honors of war were with the French, some of their vessels suffered so severely that he returned to Newport to repair damages, while Arbuthnot made all speed to the Chesapeake, which he effectually blocked. The superior sailing qualities of the English again on this critical occasion gave them the advantage. Destouches reached Newport on the afternoon of the 26th March.

The month of April passed without incident; its quiet was only broken by the rumors of war from the Carolinas. The officers in their diaries notice the delightful weather, mild as summer. Anxious looks were turned seaward for the long-expected second division. The French officers established a Masonic lodge, over which M. de Jansécourt presided, and initiations were frequent.

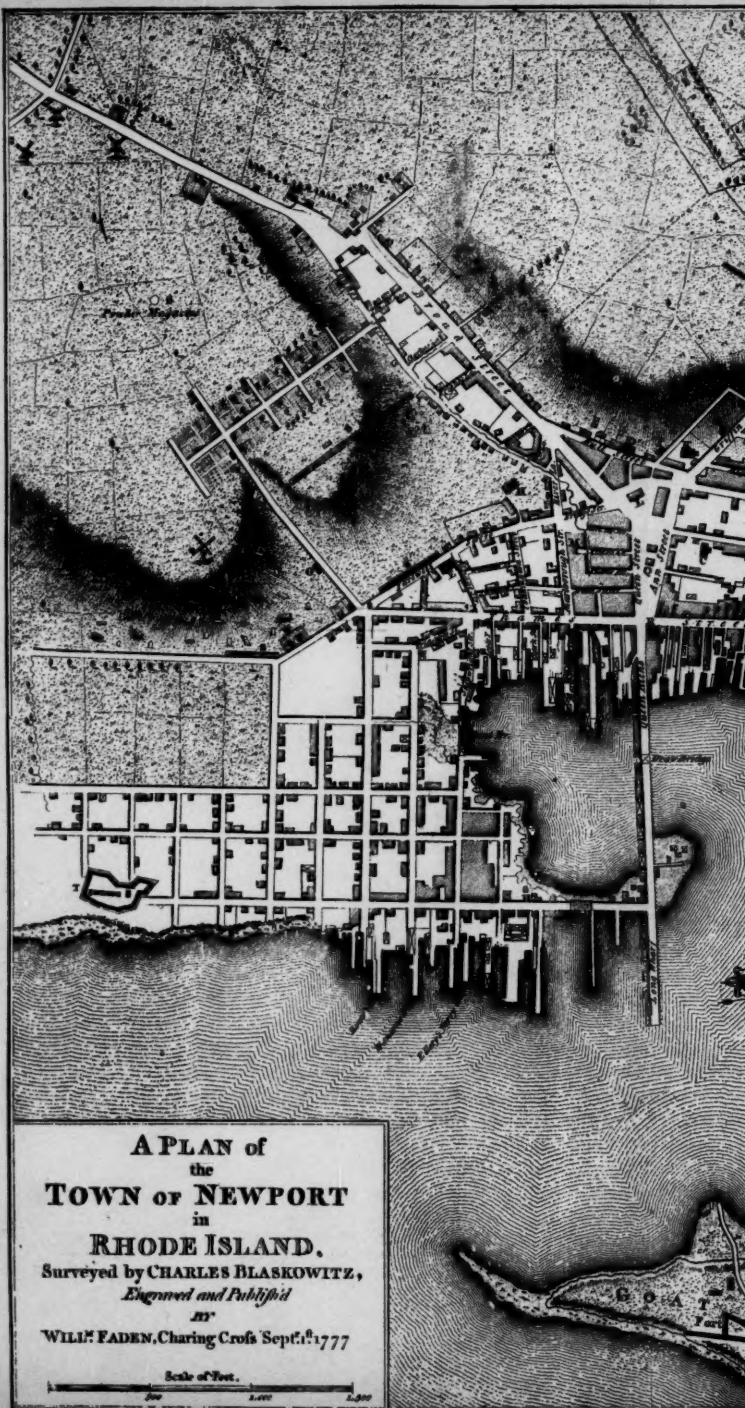
Early in May (8th) the *Concorde*, commanded by M. de Tanauran, arrived at Boston with the Count de Barras, Chef d'Escadre, appointed to succeed de Ternay. With him came the Vicomte de Rochambeau, returned from his mission. On the *Concorde* came also Baron Cromot Du Bourg, who joined the Staff of Rochambeau. The Vicomte de Rochambeau brought news of the sailing from Brest, on the 22d March, of the Count de Grasse with a strong squadron, escorting a convoy of fifteen transports, laden with supplies, and having on board two companies of artillery, and five hundred men to fill up the regiments. Though this was not what Rochambeau expected, or had been promised as a condition of his command, he made no complaints, but determined to use his force to the best advantage. All of the restrictions imposed upon him by de Sartines were now removed, de Barras bringing him *full power* from the new Ministry to act as he chose. He determined to act at once. Orders were given to get the army ready for movement; the light artillery and heavy equipments, the impediments of the army, were already in Providence, and the general officers began to complete their supplies. It was high time. The long inaction had relaxed the discipline of the troops; their mental tension also was overstrained. Quarrels among the officers were frequent. The higher officers were discontented with Rochambeau,

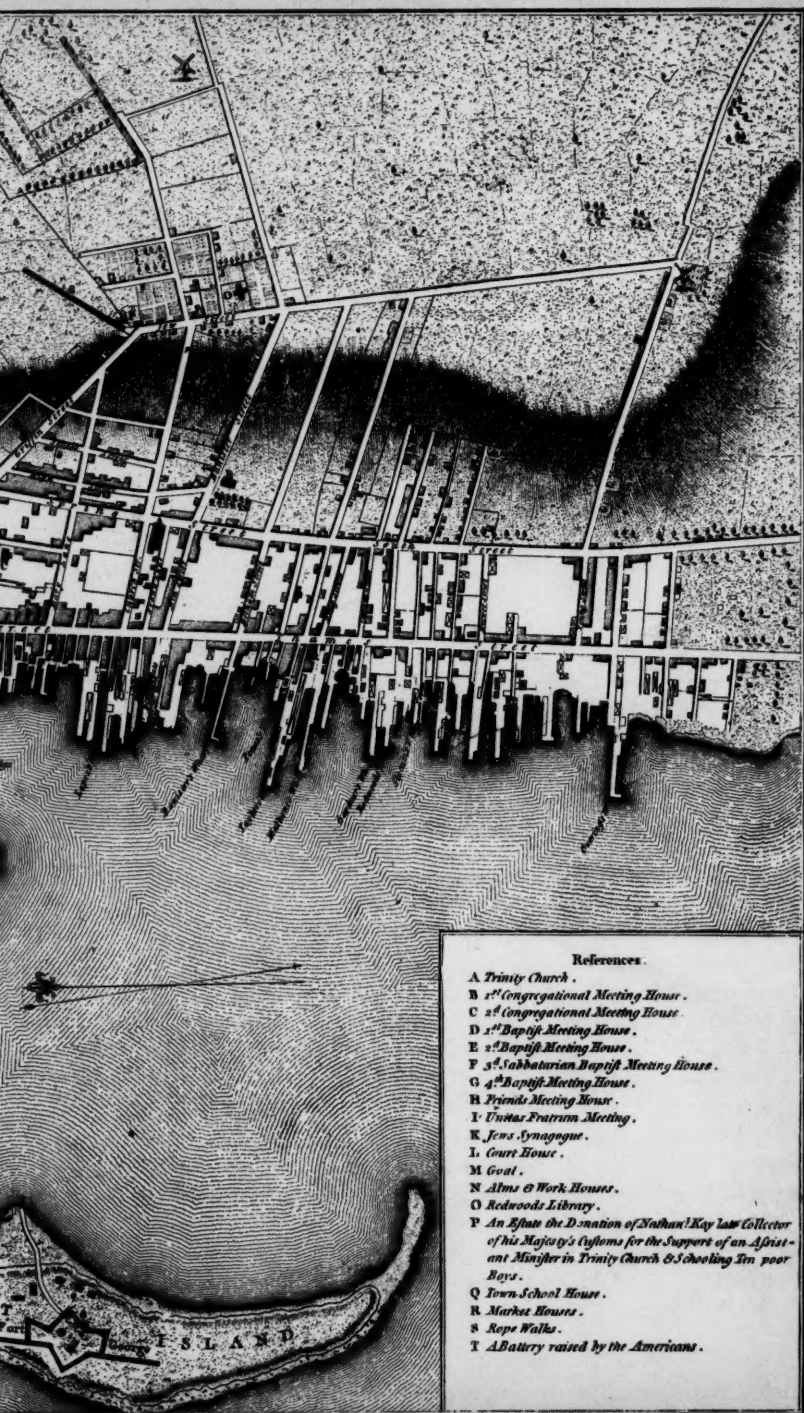
whose reticence they attributed to want of confidence in themselves, and only their respect, good breeding and desire for the general good restrained the expression of their grievances. They were extremely dissatisfied also at being compelled to recruit the fleet from their small command. Five hundred of the land force were put on board the armed vessels which were ordered to sea to meet the expected convoy. Even the amiable de Fersen confesses that he was weary of his commander, notwithstanding his attention to himself, and looked on everything with a jaundiced eye. Nobly later did he repair the injustice of his frank criticism, written, it must be remembered, for his father's eye. Rochambeau was now to show himself the complete soldier, rapid in action as he was prudent in council.

The despatches from France rendered a further conference of the commanders necessary, and Rochambeau requested an interview with Washington without delay. They met at Weathersfield, near Hartford, on the 21st May; Washington was accompanied by General Knox and Brigadier-General Du Portail; Rochambeau, by the Chevalier de Chastellux. Admiral de Barras was detained at Newport by the presence of the British fleet, which had again appeared off Block Island in force. On the 22d a plan of the summer campaign, which included a general offensive movement, was agreed upon, and the next day de Rochambeau set out on his return to Newport, where he arrived on the 26th. On the succeeding days he made arrangements for a movement of the troops.

June opened with its usual charm. The island is at its loveliest when sea and land are warmed with the first blush of summer; no need to sigh for the green fields of Normandy, or the clear skies of France at this charming season. At a council of war held on board the Admiral's ship on the 6th it was resolved that, on the departure of the troops, only a small guard should be left to hold the town, and that the fleet, which it had been proposed to take to Boston, should remain at their Newport anchorage. On the 7th of June Admiral de Barras gave a grand farewell dinner on board the Duc de Bourgogne. There were sixty people present, among whom many ladies from Newport and the vicinity. The quarter-deck was canopied with sails, and a handsome hall arranged. The Duke de Lauzun, gayest of the gay, was present. He had just returned from an interview with Washington, with whom he had agreed upon several points of detail.

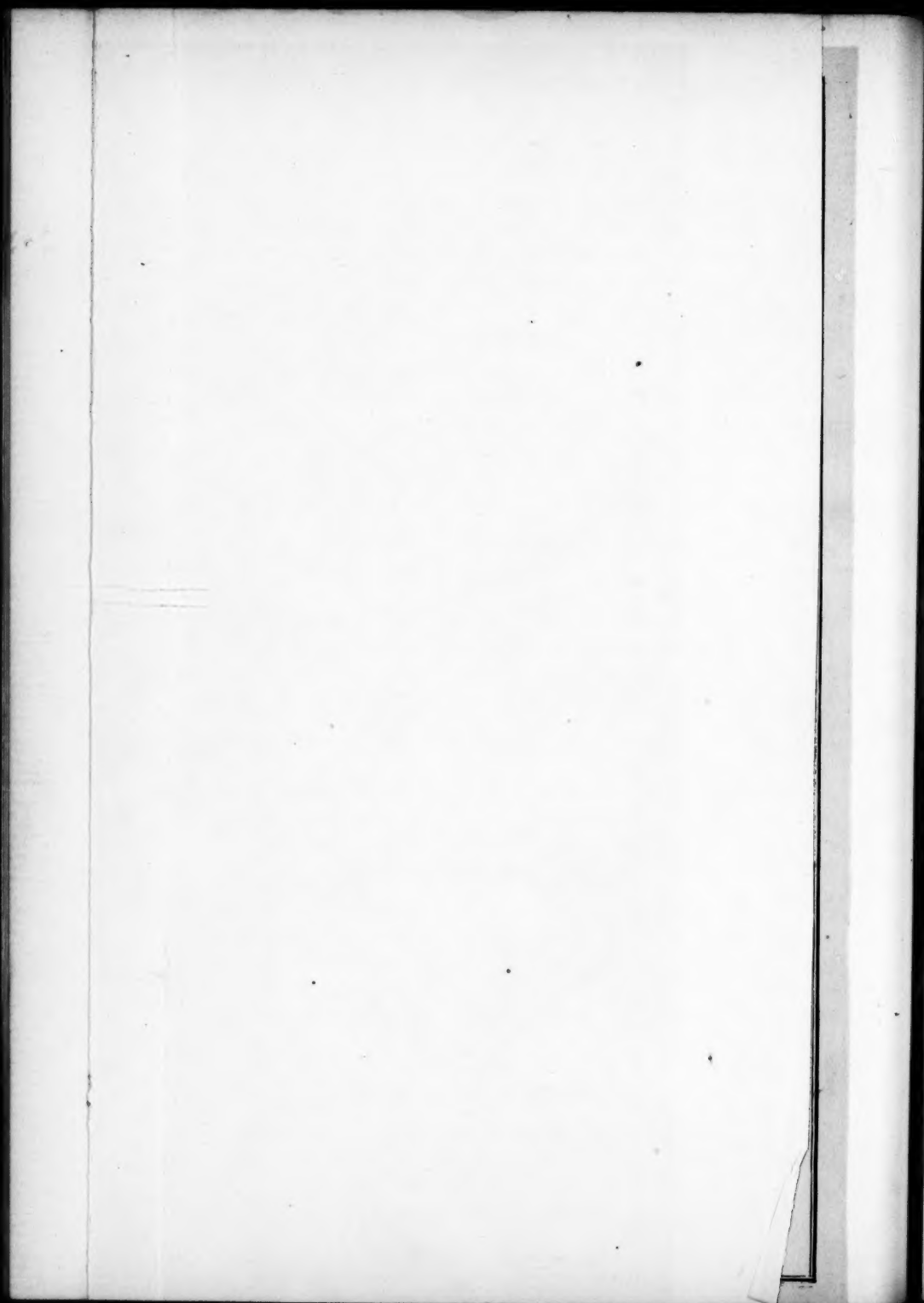
On the 9th all was ready, and marching orders were issued. On the morning of the 10th the first division, composed of the regiments of





References.

- A Trinity Church .
- B 1st Congregational Meeting House .
- C 2^d Congregational Meeting House .
- D 1st Baptist Meeting House .
- E 2^d Baptist Meeting House .
- F 3^d Sabbatarian Baptist Meeting House .
- G 4th Baptist Meeting House .
- H Friends Meeting House .
- I Unitas Fratrum Meeting .
- K Jews Synagogue .
- L Court House .
- M Govt .
- N Alms & Work House .
- O Redwoods Library .
- P An Essay the Donation of Nathan Kay late Collector of his Majesty's Customs for the Support of an African-ant Minister in Trinity Church & Schooling ten poor Boys .
- Q Town School House .
- R Market Houses .
- S Rope Walks .
- T A Battery raised by the Americans .



Bourbonnais and Royal Deux-Ponts, moved from Newport, under the command of Baron de Vioménil. They reached Providence in the evening, too late to mark out a camp, and were lodged by the town authorities in some empty houses, of which there seem to have been numbers in the patriot towns. The next day the regiment of Deux-Ponts went into camp on the heights which overlook the city, and the brigades of Soissonnais and Saintonge, which arrived the same day, took post on their left. All the heavy artillery was left in the batteries. The troops left in Newport consisted of four hundred recruits, which had arrived from France, a few pieces of artillery and a thousand local militia; all under the orders of M. de Choisy, Brigadier of the forces. De Choisy was an officer of brilliant reputation for courage. The Commissary-General of the French, M. Claude Blanchard, who had taken entire charge of this department of the service after the return of M. de Corny to France in February, was sent forward. On the 11th M. de Rochambeau and the entire staff passed through Providence to the camp.

The army remained in camp eight days while horses were collected for the artillery, wagons for the train and oxen to draw them, and a hospital and ambulance service organized. The arrival at Boston on the 11th of the ship-of-war *Sagittaire*, Captain Montluc, a convoy of fifteen ships with six hundred and ninety recruits, and money for the land and naval forces, enabled de Rochambeau to bring his preparations to a happy close.

On the 16th June the Baron de Vioménil held a general review, and the army moved in the following order: on the 18th, the regiment de Bourbonnais, under de Rochambeau and M. de Chastellux; the 19th, the regiment of Royal Deux-Ponts, under the Baron de Vioménil; the 20th, the regiment of Soissonnais, under the Count de Vioménil; the 21st, the regiment de Saintonge, under the Count de Custine—successively left the camp, and moved by easy marches to the appointed rendezvous in Westchester county, preserving between them the distance of a day's march. By order of M. Bévillie, the Quartermaster-General, the Count de Dumas preceded the columns to point out the camps and positions the army was successively to occupy.

The Count de Grasse, secure in his strength on the Southern Station, left Admiral de Barras free to act at his own discretion. His own judgment leaned to an expedition toward Newfoundland, which was within the instructions of the French Ministry of Marine; but in view of the strenuous opposition of Washington and Rochambeau, with great

generosity he sacrificed his own opinions, and taking on board the heavy artillery and the remaining troops, sailed on the 25th August (1781), with eight ships-of-the-line, four frigates, ten transports and eight American vessels, for Chesapeake Bay, which he reached in safety.

There is an enchainment and interdependence in the order of successive human events which occasionally seems too marvellous to be other than the operation of a preconcerted providential scheme. The philosophy of history consists in the study of these and their proper arrangement in the order of cause and of effect. The surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown in the fall of the year 1781, may be directly traced to the defection of Arnold in the fall of 1780. To reward the traitor, Clinton was led to organize a Southern expedition to raid and harrass Virginia, to the command of which, with his fresh rank of Brigadier-General in the British army, Arnold was assigned. His new-fledged zeal showed itself in deeds of destruction, so unnecessary and atrocious that Washington determined to check him. This was the occasion of the Southern expedition, which Lafayette led to the Chesapeake, and later, after its failure to accomplish its direct purpose, of his operations against Cornwallis. The original error of Clinton in placing an important force beyond his control, led to the despatch of further reinforcements. The scenic theatre of the war was shifted from the Northern to the Southern States, in changes dramatic in their rapidity, until Washington and de Rochambeau appear on the stage in an act of final grandeur, and the curtain falls upon the triumph of liberty and the independence of a continent.

III—RETURN OF THE FRENCH TO RHODE ISLAND—1782

When next the French saw Rhode Island, they came crowned with laurels. They were again the guests of the city of Providence in the winter of 1782. They arrived on the 10th November, and the main body remained until near the end of the month, when they marched to Boston, where they were embarked on the squadron under M. de Vaudreuil, which set sail on the 24th December. The Baron de Vioménil commanded the troops. The second division, says the historian, Arnold, remained after the first in their quarters, on the east side of the Pawtucket turnpike, just north of the city line. The troops were quartered in barracks erected for the purpose in North Prov-

idence; and the officers distributed through the town. A list of the houses occupied by the French officers in Newport has been mentioned. There fortunately remains also in the possession of Mr. Drowne, whose family are in possession of many delightful reminders of the French residence, a similar list of the houses occupied in Providence. It is not dated, but certainly belonged to the year 1782. The Count de Rochambeau was the guest of ex-Governor Bowen; the Intendent, M. de Tarlé, was quartered with Mr. John Brown; the Baron de Vioménil, with Mr. Joseph Brown; the Chevalier de Chastellux, with Mr. Joseph Russell; de Ronchamps, the Provost Marshal, with ex-Governor Cooke; the Count de Vioménil, with Colonel Nightingale. The streets, in which these residences were, are not otherwise indicated than as on "this side" and "beyond the bridge." Providence at this time was a town of small importance. Even in 1792 it was described as having only two streets and but few attractions, and gave no promise of the prosperity and elegance which it has now reached. But it was then, as now, inhabited by an orderly and refined population, and then, as now, was noted far and wide for its hospitality. To Rochambeau, who came with the troops, the Government of Rhode Island voted on the 27th an address of thanks, and the Count replied on the following day.

Notwithstanding their long march the troops were in admirable condition, the officers well mounted and elegantly equipped; their chapeaux ornamented with white cockades; their dress, white cloth faced with the colors of their regiment. The men presented a gay appearance in their brilliant uniforms; Deux-Ponts, in white; Saintonge, in white and green; Bourbonnais, in black and red; all in cocked hats with pompons, and the hair in cue; epaulets and cross-belts, from which their accoutrements hung. The artillery wore blue with red facings, white spatterdashes and red pompons, short Roman swords at their sides and firelocks in slings. Thus Mr. Drake, in his recent history of Roxbury, describes their attire when they passed through that town on their way to embark at Boston. To this description may be added that the Soissonnais wore pink facings and grenadier caps with white and pink plumes. During their stay at Providence the officers did not forget their friends at Newport; de Fersen particularly notes a visit to his old acquaintances.

To reach the French frigate, which was to convey him to his native country, de Rochambeau was compelled to return to Virginia with the Chevalier de Chastellux, M. de Béville, M. de Choisy, the whole of the

staff and the aids. The vessel, the *Emeraude*, lay at Annapolis, whence she set sail with her precious freight the 8th January. On their arrival in France, all of the general officers obtained high promotion and favor from the Court of Versailles. Rochambeau received the Cross of St. Louis, and was made Marshal of France. The Baron de Vioménil was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-General. M. M. de Lafayette, de Choisy, de Bévillé, the Count de Custine, the Duke de Lauzun, M. M. de Rostaing and d'Autichamp to that of *Maréchal-de-Camp*.

The sequel is a chequered story. In the terrible political earthquake that shook the continent, and of which the American revolution was but the premonitory upheaval, all lost their fortunes, many their lives. D'Estaing, after serving the republic with distinction, fell on the scaffold; the Duke de Lauzun met a similar fate; so did the Baron de Custine; the chivalrous de Fersen, worthy peer of Sidney or Bayard, after risking his life a thousand times in the service of the King and Queen, whose trusted friend and agent he was during their imprisonment, was torn to pieces by a Stockholm mob. The Vicomte de Rochambeau fell at the battle of Leipsic. The Marquis de Vioménil, badly injured in the defence of the persons of the royal family, died of his wounds. His brother, the Count, gave his sword to the royal cause; at the Restoration he was made Marshal of France and Marquis. Rochambeau himself was confined by Robespierre and released at his death. The Count de Damas, who was with the King in his flight to Varennes, narrowly escaped execution. Duportail was condemned, but fled to America, and died at sea on his return in 1794. One of the brothers Berthier became the celebrated Marshal of Napoleon; he was murdered at Bamberg. Dumas was President of the Assembly, General of Division and high in confidence with the Constitutional Monarchy of 1830. The figures of these men are familiar, preserved in the life-like portraits of the great historical picture of the surrender of Cornwallis. Trumbull visited Paris for the express purpose of obtaining correct likenesses. Rochambeau, in other pictures, has the air of a *gentilhomme campagnard*, not unusual to the French noble of the last century.

The services and character of Rochambeau have not had their due honor in the annals of our revolution. The United States owe to him an immeasurable debt of gratitude. He alone, as de Fersen frankly admits in his correspondence, could have brought the allied operations to a successful termination, and kept an unbroken harmony between the troops and population of races so opposite and hitherto so antagonistic.

Left for nearly a year without assistance or one word of counsel by the French Ministry, which was itself passing through vital changes; subjected in a foreign land to reproaches and importunities, to which he would not or could not reply; distrusted even by his own officers, with whom his credit was impaired by the negligence of his Government, his serenity was unbroken, and he maintained his authority without stooping to an explanation even to the highest of his general officers. Sufficient to himself in his large equipoise, he kept his own counsel even from his own military family, and held the honor of his country high, unimpeached and unimpeachable by friend or foe. In his character there was a reserved power, the unerring accompaniment of greatness. He had every quality of a commander, a leader of men; prudence in counsel, activity in preparation, precision and certainty in execution. Though not averse to argument, his judgment was thoroughly independent. He was moderate and courteous, as he was wise. To all these qualities, he added that of a bonhomie, which endeared him to his officers, and made him the idol of his troops. The gratitude of the United States for France, was early crystallized in an attachment for Lafayette, whose youthful and generous ardor touched the heart of the people; but not even his influence and service were more important to the cause of independence than the effective cooperation of Rochambeau in the very crisis of the nation's destiny. His fame grows as his character is studied, and his achievements are examined. The sober judgment of history will record that his services to America were of inestimable value.

Closing this sketch of the sojourn of the French in Rhode Island, the delightful spot which, even in the last century, before the finger of art had touched with its grace the work of nature, was already known as the "Garden of America," the sentiment which prompted the opening paragraph springs up with fresh vigor; a sentiment of affectionate attachment for France. Rapid communication has rendered her beautiful land familiar to thousands of our people. The distant dream of the last century has become an easy reality in this. The monthly packet communication, which Louis the Sixteenth established at the instance of Lafayette, has grown to a large and regular steam service. Thanks to these facilities of travel, America sees France no longer through the dim jealousy of English glasses, but with her own clear eyes.

The matchless cultivation of the soil of France, the patient industry of her agriculture, the marvels of her intelligent manufacture, the triumphs of her taste and ornamental skill have long since placed her in

the front rank of western nations. But not until now has she shown herself to be first also in the higher plane of political economy and political government. In less than a decade, by a financial miracle, she has repaired the damage of destructive war, and resumed her position at the very pinnacle of European credit. This, an easy tale, runs trippingly in narration.

How describe her present triumph! how measure the majestic grandeur of her rise from anarchy to freedom! how mark the logical sequence of her political evolutions, the serenity of her leaders, the moderation of her people, the progress of liberal opinion, the final complete establishment of popular government! The dream of the patriots of 1789 who, on the Champ de Mars, pledged themselves and their generations, on the Altar of Liberty, to the cause of freedom, has, after nearly a century of struggle and blood, been fully realized. The Republic lives. The alliance of the last century is revived. The weak confederation of American States has grown into a colossal nation, the ancient monarchy of St. Louis is transformed into a popular government. Common institutions bring with them common sympathies, common aspirations. The two republics now march together, allied nations, under the colors of liberty in the ways of peace. So may they march forever!

JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS



MEMORIAL TABLET TO ADMIRAL DE TERNAY

APPENDIX

LIST OF THE FRENCH FLEET AT RHODE ISLAND UNDER ADMIRAL DE TERNAY AND M. DESTOUCHES

VESSELS	GUNS	COMMANDERS
<i>SHIPS</i>		
Le Duc de Bourgogne.....	80	Chevalier de Ternay
Le Neptune.....	74	Destouches
Le Conquérant.....	74	La Grandière
La Provence.....	64	Lombard
L'Eveillè.....	64	De Tilly
Le Jason.....	64	La Clocheterie
L'Ardent.....	64	Chevalier de Marigny
<i>FRIGATES</i>		
La Bellone.....	—	_____
La Surveillante.....	40	Sillart
L'Amazone.....	—	La Perouse
L'Hermione*.....	36	De la Touche
La Sibylle*.....	36	_____
<i>CUTTERS</i>		
La Guêpe.....	—	Chevalier de Maulevrier
Le Serpent.....	—	_____
The Pelican (American).....	20	_____
<i>HOSPITAL SHIP</i>		
Le Fantasque, (en flute).....	—	_____
<i>ARMED SHIPS</i>		
Le Bruen*.....	—	Des Arros
Le Complase*.....	—	De Noulds

* These from Almon's Remembrancer, X, 285.

OFFICERS OF THE FRENCH ARMY IN AMERICA UNDER THE COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU

<i>Commander-in-Chief</i>	<i>Intendent</i>
Count de Rochambeau, Lieutenant-General	De Tarlé, Intendent
<i>Maréchaux de Camp</i>	Blanchard, Commissary General
Baron de Vioménil	<i>Artillery</i>
Count de Vioménil	D'Aboville, Commander-in-Chief
Chevalier de Chastellux	<i>Aids-de-Camp to M. de Rochambeau</i>
<i>Quarter Master General</i>	MM. de Fersen
De Béville, Brigadier	de Damas
De Choisy, Brigadier	Charles de Lameth
Louis Alexandre Berthier	De Closen
Caesar Berthier	De Dumas
	De Laubardières
	De Vauban

generosity he sacrificed his own opinions, and taking on board the heavy artillery and the remaining troops, sailed on the 25th August (1781), with eight ships-of-the-line, four frigates, ten transports and eight American vessels, for Chesapeake Bay, which he reached in safety.

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When next the French saw Rhode Island, they came crowned with laurels. They were again the guests of the city of Providence in the winter of 1782. They arrived on the 10th November, and the main body remained until near the end of the month, when they marched to Boston, where they were embarked on the squadron under M. de Vaudreuil, which set sail on the 24th December. The Baron de Vioménil commanded the troops. The second division, says the historian, Arnold, remained after the first in their quarters, on the east side of the Pawtucket turnpike, just north of the city line. The troops were quartered in barracks erected for the purpose in North Prov-

idence; and the officers distributed through the town. A list of the houses occupied by the French officers in Newport has been mentioned. There fortunately remains also in the possession of Mr. Drowne, whose family are in possession of many delightful reminders of the French residence, a similar list of the houses occupied in Providence. It is not dated, but certainly belonged to the year 1782. The Count de Rochambeau was the guest of ex-Governor Bowen; the Intendant, M. de Tarlé, was quartered with Mr. John Brown; the Baron de Vioménil, with Mr. Joseph Brown; the Chevalier de Chastellux, with Mr. Joseph Russell; de Ronchamps, the Provost Marshal, with ex-Governor Cooke; the Count de Vioménil, with Colonel Nightingale. The streets, in which these residences were, are not otherwise indicated than as on "this side" and "beyond the bridge." Providence at this time was a town of small importance. Even in 1792 it was described as having only two streets and but few attractions, and gave no promise of the prosperity and elegance which it has now reached. But it was then, as now, inhabited by an orderly and refined population, and then, as now, was noted far and wide for its hospitality. To Rochambeau, who came with the troops, the Government of Rhode Island voted on the 27th an address of thanks, and the Count replied on the following day.

Notwithstanding their long march the troops were in admirable condition, the officers well mounted and elegantly equipped; their chapeaux ornamented with white cockades; their dress, white cloth faced with the colors of their regiment. The men presented a gay appearance in their brilliant uniforms; Deux-Ponts, in white; Saintonge, in white and green; Bourbonnais, in black and red; all in cocked hats with pompons, and the hair in cue; epaulets and cross-belts, from which their accoutrements hung. The artillery wore blue with red facings, white spatterdashes and red pompons, short Roman swords at their sides and firelocks in slings. Thus Mr. Drake, in his recent history of Roxbury, describes their attire when they passed through that town on their way to embark at Boston. To this description may be added that the Soissonais wore pink facings and grenadier caps with white and pink plumes. During their stay at Providence the officers did not forget their friends at Newport; de Fersen particularly notes a visit to his old acquaintances.

To reach the French frigate, which was to convey him to his native country, de Rochambeau was compelled to return to Virginia with the Chevalier de Chastellux, M. de Béville, M. de Choisy, the whole of the

staff and the aids. The vessel, the *Emeraude*, lay at Annapolis, whence she set sail with her precious freight the 8th January. On their arrival in France, all of the general officers obtained high promotion and favor from the Court of Versailles. Rochambeau received the Cross of St. Louis, and was made Marshal of France. The Baron de Vioménil was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-General. M. M. de Lafayette, de Choisy, de Béville, the Count de Custine, the Duke de Lauzun, M. M. de Rostaing and d'Autichamp to that of Maréchal-de-Camp.

The sequel is a chequered story. In the terrible political earthquake that shook the continent, and of which the American revolution was but the premonitory upheaval, all lost their fortunes, many their lives. D'Estaing, after serving the republic with distinction, fell on the scaffold; the Duke de Lauzun met a similar fate; so did the Baron de Custine; the chivalrous de Fersen, worthy peer of Sidney or Bayard, after risking his life a thousand times in the service of the King and Queen, whose trusted friend and agent he was during their imprisonment, was torn to pieces by a Stockholm mob. The Vicomte de Rochambeau fell at the battle of Leipsic. The Marquis de Vioménil, badly injured in the defence of the persons of the royal family, died of his wounds. His brother, the Count, gave his sword to the royal cause; at the Restoration he was made Marshal of France and Marquis. Rochambeau himself was confined by Robespierre and released at his death. The Count de Damas, who was with the King in his flight to Varennes, narrowly escaped execution. Duportail was condemned, but fled to America, and died at sea on his return in 1794. One of the brothers Berthier became the celebrated Marshal of Napoleon; he was murdered at Bamberg. Dumas was President of the Assembly, General of Division and high in confidence with the Constitutional Monarchy of 1830. The figures of these men are familiar, preserved in the life-like portraits of the great historical picture of the surrender of Cornwallis. Trumbull visited Paris for the express purpose of obtaining correct likenesses. Rochambeau, in other pictures, has the air of a *gentilhomme campagnard*, not unusual to the French noble of the last century.

The services and character of Rochambeau have not had their due honor in the annals of our revolution. The United States owe to him an immeasurable debt of gratitude. He alone, as de Fersen frankly admits in his correspondence, could have brought the allied operations to a successful termination, and kept an unbroken harmony between the troops and population of races so opposite and hitherto so antagonistic.

Left for nearly a year without assistance or one word of counsel by the French Ministry, which was itself passing through vital changes; subjected in a foreign land to reproaches and importunities, to which he would not or could not reply; distrusted even by his own officers, with whom his credit was impaired by the negligence of his Government, his serenity was unbroken, and he maintained his authority without stooping to an explanation even to the highest of his general officers. Sufficient to himself in his large equipoise, he kept his own counsel even from his own military family, and held the honor of his country high, unimpeached and unimpeachable by friend or foe. In his character there was a reserved power, the unerring accompaniment of greatness. He had every quality of a commander, a leader of men; prudence in counsel, activity in preparation, precision and certainty in execution. Though not averse to argument, his judgment was thoroughly independent. He was moderate and courteous, as he was wise. To all these qualities, he added that of a bonhomie, which endeared him to his officers, and made him the idol of his troops. The gratitude of the United States for France, was early crystallized in an attachment for Lafayette, whose youthful and generous ardor touched the heart of the people; but not even his influence and service were more important to the cause of independence than the effective cooperation of Rochambeau in the very crisis of the nation's destiny. His fame grows as his character is studied, and his achievements are examined. The sober judgment of history will record that his services to America were of inestimable value.

Closing this sketch of the sojourn of the French in Rhode Island, the delightful spot which, even in the last century, before the finger of art had touched with its grace the work of nature, was already known as the "Garden of America," the sentiment which prompted the opening paragraph springs up with fresh vigor; a sentiment of affectionate attachment for France. Rapid communication has rendered her beautiful land familiar to thousands of our people. The distant dream of the last century has become an easy reality in this. The monthly packet communication, which Louis the Sixteenth established at the instance of Lafayette, has grown to a large and regular steam service. Thanks to these facilities of travel, America sees France no longer through the dim jealousy of English glasses, but with her own clear eyes.

The matchless cultivation of the soil of France, the patient industry of her agriculture, the marvels of her intelligent manufacture, the triumphs of her taste and ornamental skill have long since placed her in

the front rank of western nations. But not until now has she shown herself to be first also in the higher plane of political economy and political government. In less than a decade, by a financial miracle, she has repaired the damage of destructive war, and resumed her position at the very pinnacle of European credit. This, an easy tale, runs trippingly in narration.

How describe her present triumph! how measure the majestic grandeur of her rise from anarchy to freedom! how mark the logical sequence of her political evolutions, the serenity of her leaders, the moderation of her people, the progress of liberal opinion, the final complete establishment of popular government! The dream of the patriots of 1789 who, on the Champ de Mars, pledged themselves and their generations, on the Altar of Liberty, to the cause of freedom, has, after nearly a century of struggle and blood, been fully realized. The Republic lives. The alliance of the last century is revived. The weak confederation of American States has grown into a colossal nation, the ancient monarchy of St. Louis is transformed into a popular government. Common institutions bring with them common sympathies, common aspirations. The two republics now march together, allied nations, under the colors of liberty in the ways of peace. So may they march forever!

JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS



MEMORIAL TABLET TO ADMIRAL DE TERNAY

APPENDIX

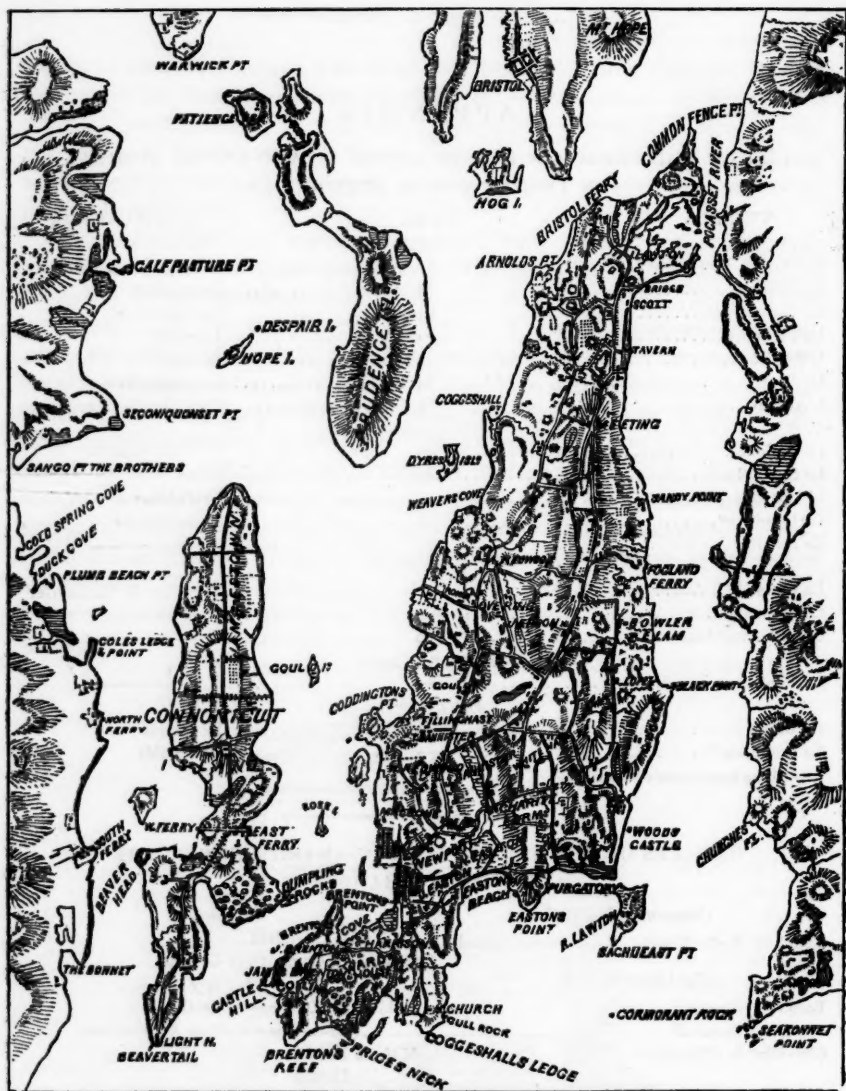
LIST OF THE FRENCH FLEET AT RHODE ISLAND UNDER ADMIRAL DE TERNAY AND M. DESTOUCHES

VESSELS	GUNS	COMMANDERS
<i>SHIPS</i>		
Le Duc de Bourgogne.....	80	Chevalier de Ternay
Le Neptune.....	74	Destouches
Le Conquérant.....	74	La Grandière
La Provence.....	64	Lombard
L'Eveillè.....	64	De Tilly
Le Jason.....	64	La Clocheterie
L'Ardent.....	64	Chevalier de Marigny
<i>FRIGATES</i>		
La Bellone.....	—	_____
La Surveillante.....	40	Sillart
L'Amazone.....	—	La Perouse
L'Hermione*.....	36	De la Touche
La Sibylle*.....	36	_____
<i>CUTTERS</i>		
La Guêpe.....	—	Chevalier de Maulevrier
Le Serpent.....	—	_____
The Pelican (American).....	20	_____
<i>HOSPITAL SHIP</i>		
Le Fantasque, (en flûte).....	—	_____
<i>ARMED SHIPS</i>		
Le Bruen*.....	—	Des Arros
Le Complaise*.....	—	De Noulds

* These from Almon's Remembrancer, X, 285.

OFFICERS OF THE FRENCH ARMY IN AMERICA UNDER THE COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU

<i>Commander-in-Chief</i>	<i>Intendant</i>
Count de Rochambeau, Lieutenant-General	De Tarté, Intendant
	Blanchard, Commissary General
<i>Maréchaux de Camp</i>	<i>Artillery</i>
Baron de Vioménil	D'Aboville, Commander-in-Chief
Count de Vioménil	<i>Aids-de-Camp to M. de Rochambeau</i>
Chevalier de Chastellux	MM. de Fersen
	de Damas
	Charles de Lameth
<i>Quarter Master General</i>	De Closen
De Béville, Brigadier	De Dumas
De Choisy, Brigadier	De Lauberdières
Louis Alexandre Berthier	De Vauban
Caesar Berthier	



NARRAGANSETT BAY

AFTER A TOPOGRAPHICAL CHART BY CHARLES BLASKOWITZ—1777

<i>Aids-de-Camp to M. de Vioménil</i>		<i>Artillery</i>	
MM. de Chabannes		M. Nadal, Director of the Park	
De Pangé		Lazié, Major	
Charles d'Olonne		<i>Engineers</i>	
<i>Aids-de-Camp to M. de Chastellux</i>		MM. Desandrouins, Commander	
MM. de Montesquiou		Querenet	
Lynch		Ch d'Ogré	
	<i>COLONELS</i>	Carnvaque	
	<i>Bourbonnais</i>	D'Opterre	
Marquis de Laval-Montmorenci		Turpin	
Vicomte de Rochambeau (Second Colonel)		<i>Medical Department</i>	
	<i>Royal Deux-Ponts</i>	MM. Coste, Physician in Chief	
Count Christian de Deux-Ponts		Robillard, Surgeon in Chief	
Count Guillaume de Deux-Ponts (Second Colonel)		Danre, Commissary	
	<i>Saintonge</i>	Demars, Director of the Hospitals	
Count de Custine		<i>Paymaster</i>	
Vicomte de Chartres		M. Boulay	
	<i>Soissonnais</i>	<i>Staff</i>	
M. de Saint-Mesme		Chevalier de Tarlé,	} Major-General's Aids
Vicomte de Noailles		De Menonville,	
	<i>Lausun's Legion</i>	De Béville, junior,	} Quarter Master General's Aids
Duke de Lauzun		Collot,	
Count Arthur Dillon			

QUARTERS OCCUPIED WITHIN THE TOWN OF NEWPORT BY THE ARMY
UNDER THE COMMAND OF THE COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU
IN WINTER QUARTERS, 1780 - 1781

NAMES OF OFFICERS	STREETS	AT THE HOUSE OF
<i>HEADQUARTERS</i>		
COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU, General.....	New Lane,	302... Wm. Vernon
De Tarlé, Intendant.....	Thames street,	245... Quarter Master Genl's office
Baron de Viomesnil, Marechal de Camp.....	ditto	274... Joseph Wanton
Chevalier de Chastellux, ditto, Acting Major } General..	Spring street,	91... Capt Mandslly
Count de Viomesnil, Marechal de Camp.....	Thames street,	274... Joseph Wanton
De Choisy, Brigadier.....	Water street,	602... Jac. Rod Reveria
<i>ARMY STAFF</i>		
De Béville, Quarter Master Genl.....	Congress street,	290... Moses Levi
<i>ADJUTANT QUARTER MASTERS</i>		
Vicomte de Rochambeau.....	New Lane,	302... Wm Vernon
Collot.....	Broad street,	340... John Wanton
De Béville.....	Congress street,	290... Mozes Levi

1782. His Most Christian Majesty To W. Vernon Esq.

Dec^r. ... To damages sustained in his House at Newport
on Rhode Island, occupied by His Excellency
Gen^l. Pacheco deau viz.

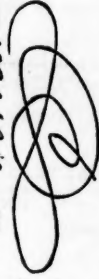
Floors, Wainscot, Hangings, Paint, Windows,
Walls, ~~Wainscot~~, Marble Hearths, and in the
House & Building throughout; To be made
good, by the Summe of C^d. Cornue, by
agreement: value 150 doll^s. - 26/2m. \$135⁰⁰----

To one Year Rent of the same 000⁰⁰----

Summe \$ 135⁰⁰----

Cornue Esq^t Boston 12th Dec^r 1782.

W. Vernon



AIDS OF THE MAJOR GENERALS OF INFANTRY

De Ménonville.....	Spring street,	90...	Capt George
De Tarlé.....	Thames street,	245...	Quarter Master Genl's office
Dubouchet.....	ditto	265...	Capt Storey

ENGINEERS

Desandrouins, Col. & Commandant.....	Thames street,	28...	Col John Malbone
De Quérénel, Lieut Col.....	ditto	83...	Colonel Malbone
De Palys, Major.....	ditto	56...	Mrs Gidley
De Doyré, Captain.....	Mill street,	201...	Henry Ward
Crubliez d'Opterre, ditto.....	ditto	202...	Pardon Tillinghast
De Gazarac, ditto.....	ditto	202...	ditto
Baron de Turpin, ditto.....	Thames street,	135...	Wm Coggeshall
De Plancher ditto.....	Thames street,	135...	Wm Coggeshall

ARTILLERY

D'Aboville, Col Commandant.....	Thames street,	10...	John Overing
De Lazier, Waggon Master.....	ditto	23...	Wm Gyles
Mauduit, Adjutant.....	ditto	23...	ditto

ADMINISTRATION

Blanchard, Commissary General.....	Thames street,	78...	Mrs Cozen
De Corny, Commissary of War.....	Thames street,	124...	Simon Puse
De Villemanzy, ditto.....	Thames street,	245...	Quarter Master Genl's office
Gau, Commissary of War and Artillery.....	ditto	6...	Rebecca Rider

SECOND ARMY STAFF

Mullins, Capt of the Guides.....	Congress street,	286...	Mrs Mumford
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PROVOST

De Ronchamp, Provost.....	Plum street,	154...	John Honimans
The town Prison.....		385...	Mary Pinegas

AIDS-DE-CAMP OF COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU

Count de Fersen.....	New Lane,	299...	Robert Stevens
Marquis de Damas.....	ditto	299...	Robert Stevens
Chevalier de Lameth.....	Spring street,	339...	Joseph Antony
Dumas.....	Spring street,	339...	Joseph Antony
De Lauberdière.....	New Lane,	301...	Henry Potter
Baron de Closen.....	Idem	301...	Henry Potter

AIDS-DE-CAMP OF BARON DE VIOMESNIL

M. d'Angely.....	Spring street,	234...	Adam Ferguson
Chevalier de Viomesnil.....	Thames street,	277...	Gold Marsh
De Chabannes.....	Thames street,	150...	John Freebody
Brintoneau.....	Thames street,	150...	John Freebody
Vicomte Armand.....	Thames street,	277...	Gold Marsh
De Sauge.....	Idem	274...	Joseph Wanton
Brisson.....	Idem	274...	Joseph Wanton

THE FRENCH IN RHODE ISLAND

AIDS-DE-CAMP OF THE CHEVALIER DE CHATTELLUX

De Lintz.....Lewis street, 115...Madame MacKay
 De Montesquiou.....Lewis street, 115... Idem

AIDS-DE-CAMP OF COUNT DE VIOMESNIL

D'Olonne, the elder.....[Lewis street] 271...Edward Hazard
 D'Olonne, the younger.....[Lewis street] 271...Edward Hazard
 Stack.....Spring street, 337...Wm Almy

AID-DE-CAMP OF M. DE CHOISY

Saumann.....Water street, 602...Jac Rod Reveria

AID-DE-CAMP OF M. DE BEVILLE

De Bévill.....Congress street, 290...Moses Levi

PAY MASTER

De Baulny, Pay Master of the Army.....Ruppock street, 314...Seixas & Levy

SUPPLIES

Danre, Superintendent.....Mill street, 162...Wm Coggeshall
 Morion, Cashier.....Thames street, 281...Dr Tillinghast
 Bourguin, Director.....Spring street, 108...Wm Gibbs
 Duval, Inspector.....Congress street, 237...Robert Lillibridge

HOSPITALS

De Mars, Superintendent.....Thames street, 123...James Taylor
 De Coste, Physician in chief.....Back street, 456...Wm Lindon
 Robillard, Surgeon in chief.....Thames street, 445...James Senter
 Abbé de Glesnon, Chaplain.....Spring street, 345...Widow Brayton

BUTCHER'S MEAT

Buret de Blegier, Superintendent.....Spring street, 158...Johetas Gibbs

FORAGE

Louis, Superintendent.....Thames street, 238...Gideon Lisson

CLOTHING

Martin, Store Keeper.....Long wharf.....Constant Tabor

REGIMENTS QUARTERED IN THE TOWN

COLONELS AND SUPERIOR OFFICERS

REGIMENT BOURBONNAIS

Marquis de Laval, Colonel.....High street, 223...Robinson
 Vicomte de Rochambeau, Second Colonel.....New Lane, 302...Wm Vernon
 De Bressolles, Lieut Colonel.....Mill street, 195...Joseph Clark
 De Gambs, Major.....High street, 223...Robinson

THE FRENCH IN RHODE ISLAND

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REGIMENT ROYAL DEUX-PONTS

Count de Deux-Ponts, Colonel.....	Broad street,	530...	George Scott
Count Guillaume de Deux-Ponts, Second Col...	ditto	533...	Nathl Mumford
Baron d'Ezbeck, Lieut Col.....	Broad street,	401...	William Still
Desprez, Major.....	High street,	328...	Thomas Vernon

REGIMENT SOISSONNAIS

Marquis de St. Maime, Colonel.....	High street,	329...	Miss Coles
Vicomte de Noailles, Second Colonel.....	Water street,	614...	Thomas Robinson
D'Anselme, Lieut Colonel.....	Back street,	468...	William Cozzens
D'Espeyron, Major.....	Griffin street,	342...	Robert Lawton

REGIMENT SAINTONGE

Marquis de Custine, Colonel.....	[Griffin street],	312...	Joseph Durfey
Count de Charlus, Second Colonel.....	Point bridge street,	644...	Major Martin
De la Vatable, Lieut. Colonel.....	Water street,	603...	John Oldfield
De Fleury, Major.....	Water street,	595...	Jeremiah Clark

CORPS OF ROYAL ARTILLERY, SECOND BATTALION, AUXONNE

De la Tour, Lieut Colonel.....	Spring street,	15...	William Lee
De Buzetetz, Brigadier in chief.....	Spring street,	62...	Joseph Tevady

SAPPERS AND MINERS

De Chazelles, Brigadier in chief.....	Thames street,	58...	Major Fairchilds
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WORKMEN

De la Chaise, Second Captain.....	Thames street,	73...	Abraham Redwood
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LAUZUN VOLUNTEERS

Duc de Lauzun, Colonel proprietor.....	Thames street,	264...	Deborah Hunter
Gugean, Lieut Colonel.....	At Mrs Harrison	...	Mrs. Harrison
De Scheldon.....	Alley Place Thames street,	248...	Jos Halliburton

THE NAVY

CHEVALIER DE TERNAY	}	Water street,	608...	Col Walton
De Granchain, Major				
De Capellis, aid, Major				
Office of the Navy				
Destouches, Captain	Water street,	627...	William Redwood	
De Lagrandière, Captain	ditto	212...	Francis Brinley	
The Chevalier de Lombard, Captain	ditto	631...	Christopher Townsend	
De la Vicquettes	ditto	630...	John Townsend	
De Maulevrier	ditto	486...	Samuel Johnson	
Naval Hospital	New Lane,	295...	Presbyterian Church	
Naval Hospital	Mill street,	194...	Mrs Hopkins	
Navy Artillery	{	Water street & Room- ers wharf,	611....	{ George Roomer

Mullins, Captain of the Guides..... { The main street in front of the Town } John Smith.
Hall..... }

PROVOST

De Ronchamp, Provost.....The main street this side the bridge. Govr Cook
The Town Prison.....In front of the Town Hall.

AIDS-DE-CAMP OF COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU

Count de Fersen.....}
Marquis de Vauban.....} The main street this side the bridge. Nic Brown
Marquis de Damas.....}
The Chevalier de Lameth.....}
Dumas.....} The main street this side the bridge. Doer Bowen
De Lauberdière.....}
Baron de Clozen.....} The main street this side the bridge. John Foster

AIDS-DE-CAMP OF THE BARON DE VIOMESNIL

D'Angely.....}
Le Chevalier de Viomesnil.....} The main street this side the bridge. Jos Brown
De Chabannes.....}
Brintaneau.....} The main street this side the bridge. Jenkins
St. Amand.....} The main street this side the bridge. John Hopkins
De Lange.....} The main street this side the bridge. M Field
Desoteux.....} The main street this side the bridge. Dr Chase
Brison.....ditto Jos Brown

AIDS-DE-CAMP OF LE CHEVALIER DE CHATELLEUX

De Lintch.....}
De Montesquiou.....} Near the Town Hall.....Cushing

AIDS-DE-CAMP OF THE COUNT OF VIOMESNIL

D'Olonne the elder.....}
D'Olonne the younger.....} Back street this side the bridge.....Edward Spaulding
Stack.....ditto Mrs Jenkins

AIDS-DE-CAMP OF M. DE CHOISY

De Tressan.....The main street near the Town Hall. Richard Olney

AIDS-DE-CAMP OF M. DE BEVILLE

De Béville.....Back street beyond the bridge.....Theodore Foster

PAY MASTER

De Baulny, Paymaster.....The main street beyond the bridge..Colonel Barton

SUPPLIES

Danré, Superintendent.....The main street beyond the bridge..Amos Attwell
Morion, Cashier.....The main street beyond the bridge..Nath Green
Bourgneuf, Director.....ditto Long Wharf..Isaac Aldrich

HOSPITALS

De Mars, Superintendent..At the Hospital.....
De Coste, Physician in chief.....The main street this side the bridge. Tillinghast
Robillaid, Surgeon in chief.....The main street this side the bridge. Samuel Young
Abbé de Glemon, Chaplain.....The main street this side the bridge. Benj Allen

BUTCHERS' MEAT

Durel de Bégier, Superintendent.....The main street beyond the bridge..Mrs Stevens

FORAGE

Louis, Superintendent.....The main street this side the bridge. Jos Laurens

CLOTHING

Martin, Storekeeper.....The main street beyond the bridge..Mr Clark, Treasurer

Newport, July. 29. 1780.

Lieutenant General Count de Rochambeau has received with the warmest gratitude, the address which many of the Inhabitants of Newport were pleased to present to him. He begs leave in the name of the King his master, thankfully, as much as in his own and that of the army under his command, most particularly to acknowledge this new mark of friendship from the Citizens of America. The Count has the honour to assure the Inhabitants of Newport that his reliance on their zeal and gallantry adds a great degree of Security to his preparations of defense, and that if the Enemy is so daring as to come and attack Newport. Such of them as may want arms will be immediately supplied.

Le Comte de Rochambeau

RESOLUTIONS OF THE INHABITANTS OF
NEWPORT IN TOWN MEETING

Tuesday, July 11, 1780.

WHEREAS, many of the Inhabitants of the Town of Newport, sincerely desirous of affording their utmost aid and assistance to the fleet and army of His Most Christian Majesty, the Illustrious Ally of the States, now within the Harbour and Town of Newport, have associated for the defence thereof against the Common Enemy; and whereas, the same Inhabitants have been heretofore deprived of their fire arms and accoutrements by the said Enemy, and are now in want of a sufficient number for arming & Equipping 200 men: Wherefore, Resolved, that Major Genl Heath be, and he is hereby requested to apply to Genl Count de Rochambeau, Commander of the Army of his said Christian Majesty, for the Loan of a sufficient number of the necessary arms and accoutrements for the arming and equipping sd men, & this Town will return the same when thereto required by Genl Count de Rochambeau, & that the Committee who waited on Genl Heath yesterday be appointed to wait on him with the vote.

Whereas, upon the arrival of the Fleet & Army appointed by His Most Christian Majesty to cooperate with the forces of these United States against the Common Enemy, the Inhabitants & Citizens of this town are called upon from the Duty & Regard they owe our country, & the Gratitude & Respect which is due from every Citizen to the Illustrious Ally of these States, as well as to afford them the utmost aid & assistance, also to manifest every mark of respect & esteem upon their arrival; Wherefore resolved, That all Houses in the Streets hereafter named be Illuminated to-morrow evening, to-wit: Thames Street, Congress (heretofore called Queen Street), Lewis Street (heretofore called King's Street), Broad Street, leading out of Town, the Street leading over the Point Bridge, and the Street leading from the long Wharfe to the point Battery, and such other Houses in this Town as the abilities of the Occupants thereof will admit, & that the Lights be Continued to 10 o'clock in Eveng; it is further resolved, that Benj Almy, Job Easton, George Champlain, Jabez Champlain, Geo Sears, Rob

Taylor, John Townsend, John Topham, Isaac Dayton, & William Taggart be a Committee to Patrole the Streets to prevent any damage arising from fire, & to preserve the Peace of the Town; Ordered that this resolution be published & made known to the Inhabitants of this Town by beat of Drum. It is further resolved, the Treasurer shall furnish a Box of Candles at the expence of the Town, & that the same be distributed to those of the Inhabitants who reside in the Streets heretofore ordered to be Illuminated, and who are not of abilities to furnish the same.

REPLY OF COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU TO THE
ADDRESS OF THE INHABITANTS
OF NEWPORT

Newport, July 29, 1780

Lieutenant Colonel Count de Rochambeau has received with the warmest Gratitude the address which many of the Inhabitants of Newport were pleased to present to him. He begs leave, in the name of the King, his master, their Ally, as much as in his own and that of the army under his command, most particularly to acknowledge this new mark of friendship from the citizens of America. The Count has the honor to assure the Inhabitants of Newport that his reliance on their zeal and gallantry add a great degree of Security to his preparations of defence, and that if the Enemy is so daring as to come and attack Newport, such of them as may want arms will be immediately supplied.

LE CTE DE ROCHAMBEAU.

ADDRESS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF
RHODE ISLAND TO THE HONORABLE
LIEUTENANT-GENERAL LE COMTE
DE ROCHAMBEAU

The Representatives of the State of Rhode Island and the Providence Plantations in General Assembly convened, with the most pleasing satisfaction, take the earliest opportunity of congratulating the Comte de Rochambeau, Lieutenant General of the Army of his most Christian Majesty, upon his safe arrival within the United States. Upon this occasion we can-

not be too expressive of the grateful sense we entertain of the generous and magnanimous aid afforded to the United States by their illustrious friend and ally. Sufficient had been the proofs of his zeal and friendship; the present instance must constrain even envious, disappointed Britons to venerate the wisdom of his councils and the sincerity of his noble mind. We look forward with a most pleasing expectation to the end of a campaign in which the allied forces of France and the United States, under the smiles of Divine Providence, may be productive of peace and happiness to the contending powers and mankind in general. We assure you, Sir, our expectations are enlarged when we consider the wisdom of his Most Christian Majesty in your appointment as the Commander of his army destined to our assistance. Be assured, Sir, of every exertion in the power of this State to afford the necessary refreshments to the army under your command, and to render this service to all ranks as agreeable and happy as it is honorable.

We are, on behalf of the General Assembly the General's most obedient and most devoted humble servants.

WILLIAM GREENE
WILLIAM BRADFORD

To Lieutenant-General
Comte de Rochambeau.

REPLY OF GENERAL ROCHAMBEAU TO THE
ADDRESS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY
OF RHODE ISLAND

Gentlemen. The King, my Master, hath sent me to the assistance of his good and faithful allies, the United States of America. At present I only bring over the van guard of a much greater force destined for their aid; and the King has ordered me to assure them that his whole power shall be exerted for their support.

The French troops are under the strictest discipline, and, acting under the orders of General Washington, will live with the Americans as their brethren; and nothing will afford me greater happiness than contributing to their success.

I am highly sensible of the marks of respect shown me by the General Assembly, and beg

leave to assure them that as brethren not only my life, but the lives of the troops under my command are entirely devoted to their service.

THE COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU
To the Honorable the General
Assembly of the State of Rhode
Island and Providence Plantations.

ADDRESS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF
RHODE ISLAND TO THE ADMIRAL
CHEVALIER DE TERNAY

The Representatives of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in General Assembly convened with the most pleasing satisfaction take this, the earliest opportunity, of testifying the sentiments that are impressed upon them by the great attention which his most Christian Majesty has invariably manifested to the United States. The formidable armament heretofore sent to our aid has essentially promoted our happiness and independence. But at a time when Europe is involved in the calamities of war, by the ambitious views of the British Court, we cannot express the gratitude we feel upon your arrival with the fleet under your command, destined by our illustrious ally to the assistance of the United States. We entreat you, on this occasion, to accept the warmest congratulations of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations; and be assured, Sir, of every exertion in their power to afford the necessary refreshments to the fleet, and to render the service as agreeable and happy as it is honorable.

We are in behalf the General Assembly
The Admiral's most obedient and
most humble Servants,
WILLIAM GREENE
WILLIAM BRADFORD

To le Chevalier de Ternay

REPLY OF ADMIRAL DE TERNAY TO THE
ADDRESS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY
OF RHODE ISLAND

The multiplicity of business in which I have for some days been involved, has hitherto pre-

vented my honoring, in due form, an address from the Honorable the General Assembly of the State of Rhode Island, &c. I have already assured them how sensible I am of their politeness, in a visit to my ship, to give me an assurance of their granting every necessary supply for the squadron and fleet of the King of France during their continuance in this State.

I with pleasure embrace this opportunity of testifying to the Honorable Assembly my peculiar satisfaction in an appointment by the King, my Master, to conduct succours to his allies, who have several years been successfully contending to establish an independence, which will be the basis of their future felicity.

I have nothing further to aspire after than the hour when I shall participate with the United States in the glorious advantages resulting from war with enemies, who vainly attempt to subjugate them, and wrest from them that freedom, the blessings of which they already experience.

I beg the Honorable Assembly would be persuaded that I am penetrated with the warmest attachment to every member of which that body is composed.

THE CHEVALIER DE TERNAY,
Commandant of the Naval Forces of his
Most Christian Majesty at Newport.
To the Honorable the General
Assembly of the State of Rhode
Island and Providence Plantations.

ADDRESS OF THE GOVERNOR, COUNCIL AND
REPRESENTATIVES OF THE STATE OF
RHODE ISLAND AND PROVIDENCE
PLANTATIONS

The Governor, Council and Representatives of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in General Assembly convened, being excited by the sincerest attachment and respect, present their most affectionate and cordial acknowledgments to your Excellency and the officers and troops composing the Army under your command, for the great and eminent services rendered since your first arrival in this State. Nothing can equal our admiration at the manner in which you have participated with the Army of the United States, in the fatigues, the

toils, and the glory, that have attended the allied arms, but the magnanimity of the Father of his people and the Protector of the rights of mankind.

Our inquietude at the prospect of your removal would be irrepressible but from the fullest conviction of the wisdom that directs the councils of His Most Christian Majesty,

May Heaven reward your exertions in the cause of Humanity and the particular regard you have paid to the rights of the citizens; and may your laurels be crowned by the smiles of the best of kings, and the grateful feelings of the most generous people.

Done in General Assembly, at East Greenwich, this 27th day of November, A. D. 1782, and on the seventh year of independence.

I have the honor to be, in behalf the Council and Representatives, with great esteem and respect,

Your Excellency's most obedient

and very humble servant,

WILLIAM GREENE, Governor

By order, Samuel Ward, Secretary.

The Comte de Rochambeau

ANSWER OF THE COMTE DE ROCHAMBEAU TO
THE ADDRESS OF THE GOVERNOR,
&c., OF RHODE ISLAND

Gentlemen: It is with inexpressible pleasure that I and the troops under my command have received the marks of esteem and of acknowledgment, which you are so good as to give to the services which we have been happy enough to render to the United States, jointly with the American Army, under the orders of General Washington.

This State is the first we have been acquainted with. The friendly behavior of its inhabitants now and at our arrival here will give them always a right to our gratitude.

The confidence you have in the wisdom of the views of our Sovereign as to the disposition and march of his troops, must likewise assure you that on no occasion whatever he will separate his interests from those of his faithful allies.

LE COMTE DE ROCHAMBEAU

INSCRIPTION OVER THE MONUMENT TO ADMIRAL DE TERNAY
ERECTED IN THE TRINITY CHURCH-YARD, NEWPORT,
BY ORDER OF THE KING OF FRANCE

1783

D. O. M.

CAROLUS LUDOVICUS D'ARSAC DE TERNAY. Ordinis sancti Hierosolymitani eques, nondum vota professus, a vetere et nobili genere, apud armatas, oriundus, unus e regiarum classium praefectis. CIVIS MILITIS, imperator, de rege suae patriae, per 42 annos, bene meritis, hoc sub marmore jacet, Feliciter audax naves regias, post Croisiacum cladem per invios Viconiae fluviit enfractus disiectas à caecis voraginibus, improbe labore, annis 1760, 1761 inter tela hostium detrusit avellit, et stationibus suis restitit incolmes Anno 1762, terram novam in America invasit Anno 1772, revinctus praetor ad regendas Bourboniam et Franciae insulas, in Galliae commoda et colonorum felicitatem per annos Septem, totus incubit. Foederatis ordinibus pro libertate dimicantibus a rege Christianissimo missus subsidio anno 1780, Rhodum insulam occupavit; dum ad nova se accingebat pericula, In hac urbe, inter commilitonum planctus inter foederatorum ordinum lamenta et desideria, Mortem obiit gravem bonis omnibus, et luctuosam suis, die 15 Xbris MDCCCLXXX, natus annos 53. Rex Christianissimus, Severissimus virtutis iudex, ut clarissimi viri memoria posteritati consecratur MDCCCLXXXIII hoc monumentum ponendum jussit.

TRANSLATION

In the name of GOD CHARLES LEWIS D'ARSAC DE TERNAY, Knight of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, though the Vows of the Order he had never acknowledged, descended from an Ancient and Noble Family of Bretagne, one of the Admirals of the King's Fleets, a Citizen, a Soldier, a Chief, served ably, faithful to his King and to his Country, for 42 years, now rests beneath this Marble, happily resolute. In the years 1760 and 1761, after the *Croisiah* Battle, with painful difficulty, amidst the weapons of Enemies, he rescued and brought off from dangerous whirlpools the Royal Fleet, dispersed near the innavigable eddies of the River of Vicenza, and gave his Ships the Stations he wished without any damage. In the Year 1762 he invaded Newfoundland in America. In 1772, having resigned his command, he received the Regency of Bourbon and the French Islands adjacent. In which office for 7 Years, to the emolument of France, and the happiness of the Colonies, he was assiduously faithful. Being ordered by His Most Christian Majesty in the Year 1780 with Assistance to the United States, engaged in the Defence of Liberty, he arrived in Rhode Island, where, while he was prepared to encounter the Dangers of his Command, to the inconsolable Grief of his Fellow Soldiers, to the sincere sorrow of the United States, he expired in this City, regretted by all the Good; but particularly lamented by those to whom he was related, December 15th, MDCCCLXXX, Aged 53. His Most Christian Majesty, strictly just to Merit, in order that the Memory of this illustrious man might be consecrated to Posterity, hath ordered this Monument to be erected, MDCCCLXXXIII.

INSCRIPTION ON THE GRANITE TABLET PLACED OVER THE
GRAVE OF ADMIRAL DE TERNAY BY ORDER
OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC

1873

HOC SUB LAPIDE
ANNO M.DCCC.LXXIII. POSITO
JACET
CAROLUS LUDOVICUS D'ARSAC
DE TERNAY
ANNO M DCC LXXX
DECESSUS
SUB PROXIMI TEMPLI PORTICUM
ANTIQUUM MONUMENTUM
RESTAURATUM ET PROTECTUM
TRANSLATUM EST

TRANSLATION

Beneath this Stone
placed in the year 1873
lies
CHARLES LOUIS D'ARSAC DE TERNAY
who died in the year 1780
Beneath the porch of the church near by
the ancient monument
restored and sheltered
lies removed

LETTERS OF DE FERSEN

AID-DE-CAMP TO ROCHAMBEAU

WRITTEN TO HIS FATHER IN SWEDEN

1780-1782

*Translated for the Magazine from Baron de
Klönckowström's Count de Fersen
Paris—1878*

III

York, 23 October, 1781

As I have not time to give you the smallest details upon the siege, I add to this a little journal of our operations; they are ended for this year; we shall remain in winter quarters in the neighborhood, and headquarters will be at Williamsburg, a miserable little town, which is more like a village. There are some indications that we shall next year make a campaign towards Charleston, which we will finish by a siege of that place. The English will not fail to send troops from New York to this part of America, and I believe we shall have active operations there. It seems that there is nothing else for General Clinton to do. M. de Rochambeau has asked for a reinforcement of troops, and I think that M. de Grasse will return here from the Antilles with his 28 vessels. If the command be left to him, he will bring troops with him. With his forces joined to ours, we shall be in a situation to make a pretty campaign, and the capture of Savannah, where M. d'Estaing failed, and that of Charleston may well be the issue of the campaign, and crown the work we have so well begun.

I have no doubt that the troops which M. de Rochambeau has asked for will be sent to him; he knows too well the

use to make of them, and he has just rendered services too great to be refused, at a moment like this, so just a request. I am only afraid of peace, and pray that it be not made yet.

All our young Colonels who belong to the Court are leaving, so as to pass their winter in Paris. Some will come back; others will remain, and will be greatly surprised not to be made brigadiers, because of having been at the siege of York; they think they have done the finest thing in the world. As for myself, I shall remain. I should have no other reason for going to Paris but my amusement and pleasure; they must be sacrificed. My affairs will do without me; I should spend money there; I ought to husband it. I prefer to employ it in making some campaign here and finishing that I have begun. When I took up the resolution to come over here I foresaw all the ennui I should have to endure; it is just that the instruction I may acquire should cost me something.

JOURNAL OF OPERATIONS

(Annexed to the preceding letter)

After eleven months passed at Newport in complete inaction, the army moved on the 12th June, 1781, leaving 600 men and 1000 militia men, under the orders of M. de Choisy, Brigadier, to defend the works we had raised there, protect our little squadron of 8 vessels which was to remain and cover our stores at Providence, where we had all our siege artillery. The army passed by water from Newport to Providence, and thence continued its march by land

as far as Philippsbourg, 15 miles distant from Kingsbridge, where it arrived the 6th July, and encamped on the left of the Americans. The legion of Lauzun had always covered our left flank, marching 9 or 10 miles from us, between us and the sea. Our army was of 5000 men, the Americans about 3000 men. During our stay at Philippsbourg we made several great foraging expeditions and reconnoissances towards Kings-Bridge. The 14th August we received news of the arrival of M. de Grasse. He left the Islands on the 24th July. I was sent to Newport to hasten the departure of our fleet, and the embarkation of the artillery at Providence. The 17th the army left Philippsbourg, and arrived the 21st at Kings ferry on the bank of the North or Hudson's river. It was four days in crossing, and the 25th we ourselves began our march. 2000 Americans were with us; 3000 were left to guard the defiles near Philippsbourg. Every thing seemed to announce a siege of New York. The establishment of a bakery and other store houses at Chatham, 4 miles distant, from Staten Island; our passage of the North River, and march towards Morristown seemed to indicate that we intended to attack Sandy Hook to facilitate the entrance of our vessels. We were not long in seeing that our views were not turned upon New York, but General Clinton was entirely deceived; that was precisely what we wished. We crossed *Jersey*, which is one of the finest and most highly cultivated provinces of America, and the army arrived the 3d September at Philadelphia. It passed through the city on parade, and aroused the admir-

ation of all the inhabitants, who had never seen such a number of men uniformed and armed alike, nor so well disciplined. The army, after a sojourn of two days, took up its march on the fifth to the Head-of-Elk River, which is the head of Chesapeake Bay. The 6th we learned that M. de Grasse arrived on the 3d with 28 vessels in Chesapeake Bay, and that 3000 soldiers, under the orders of M. de Saint-Simon, Maréchal de Camp, had been landed and joined the 1800 men under the Marquis de Lafayette at Williamsburg. The march of the troops was hurried, and on the 7th the entire army had arrived at the Head-of-Elk. It was resolved to embark the army; but the scarcity of vessels, all of which the English had captured or destroyed in the 5 months they had been masters of the bay, only allowed of the embarkation of our grenadiers and Chasseurs, 800 men, and 700 Americans. The remainder, with the waggons, marched to Annapolis, and were embarked in frigates. The whole arrived, and encamped the 26th—at Williamsburg. M. de Grasse, two days after his entrance into the bay, the 5th September, discovered the English fleet of 20 ships in the offing. Admiral Hood, with 12 vessels, had joined the 8 of Graves. M. de Grasse went out at once with 24 vessels; he left 4 to guard the York and James rivers. After a combat which was not very spirited, the English withdrew. M. de Barras, with his 8 vessels, joined M. de Grasse, and the 8th they were all in the bay.

From the moment of our arrival at Williamsburg the debarkation of the field artillery and waggons was pressed;

all was ready on the 28th, and the army marched to invest York, where Lord Cornwallis was. He occupied York, which is on the right bank of the river, and Gloucester, which is on the left bank. The river is a mile wide, that is, about a third of a French league. We began our investment the same day, but the Americans could not finish theirs until the next day; they had to cross a morass; the bridge had been broken, and another had to be constructed. The 29th the investment was complete, and we set to work to construct a quantity of fascines, saucissons, hurdles and gabions necessary for the siege. The 30th the enemy evacuated their advanced works, and withdrew into the body of the place. These works consisted in two great redoubts and a battery of two pieces of cannon, which were separated from the town by a great ravine, and were about 400 fathoms distant. We took possession of it, and our works were much advanced thereby, as it gave us the opportunity to establish our first parallels on the other side of the ravine. If Lord Cornwallis committed a fault in this, it may be excused, for he had express orders from General Clinton to shut himself up in the body of the place, and a promise that he (Clinton) would come to his succor.

The 6th October, at 8 o'clock in the evening, we opened a trench at 300 fathoms from the works. The left rested on the river, the right on a great ravine, which descends perpendicularly upon the town, at a point about a third to the right of the works, and thence leads to the river in the sight of the town. Our trench was 700 fathoms in extent, and

was defended by 4 palisaded redoubts and 5 batteries. The ground, which is very much cut up by little ravines, greatly facilitated our approach, and enabled us to reach our trenches under cover without being obliged to cut a tunnel. On our left we had opened another trench, the left of which rested on the river, and its right on a wood; we had there a battery of 4 mortars, 2 howitzers and 2 pieces of 24, which swept the river, endangered the communication from York to Gloucester, and greatly troubled the vessels in the river. The enemy fired very little at night. The following days were spent in completing the trench, palisading the redoubts, and putting the batteries in order. They all opened fire during the day of the 10th. We had 41 pieces cannon, mortars and howitzers, all included. Our artillery was admirably served; the character of the works, which were of sand, did not allow all the effect from our cannon which they would have had on ground of another kind; but we learned from deserters that our bombs did great execution, and that the number of killed and wounded increased considerably. The besieged fired but little; they had only small pieces, their largest being 18; they had only mortars of 6 to 8 inches; ours were 12 inches. During the day they fired numerous bombs and royal grenades, and at night they established flying batteries— During the day they ordinarily withdrew their cannon, and placed them behind the parapet. The night of the 11th to 12th a second parallel was opened at 120 fathoms, its left resting, like that of the first, on the same ravine, the right

on a redoubt. We could not push the parallel to the river, because of two redoubts of the English, which were at half gun shot in front of our right. It was determined to attack these, in order to complete the parallel. The 14th, at 8 o'clock in the evening, 400 grenadiers and chasseurs, supported by 1000 men, attacked the redoubt, and carried it, sword in hand. There were 160 men within, half English, half Germans; only 34 prisoners and 3 officers were taken. The Americans carried the other redoubts. The night was spent in continuing the trench, and on the morning of the 15th it was quite under cover. The English kept up a heavy fire of bombs during the night and the whole day.

The 16th our batteries were completed, and the pieces were mounted in battery. In the morning at 5 o'clock they made a sortie with 500 men, entered one of the batteries, and spiked 4 pieces of cannon. They were immediately repulsed, but we lost some twenty men, killed or wounded. Our troops, who had been extremely fatigued from the beginning of the siege, were surprised asleep.

The 17th a flag was sent in, and Lord Cornwallis asked to capitulate. The whole of the 18th was spent in arranging the articles; the 19th the capitulation was signed, and the troops laid down their arms. There were only 10 balls and a bomb left in the place. We had in our second parallel 6 batteries and 60 pieces of artillery, which would have opened fire on the 17th, and on the 18th or 19th we expected to be ready to assault.

The legion of Lauzun, 800 soldiers, some vessels and 1000 militia men were on the Gloucester side to prevent any thing from getting through on that side. In the night of the 14th to 15th Lord Cornwallis crossed 2000 men over to Gloucester to force a passage there, and traverse 200 leagues of the enemies country to reach York. The enterprise was bold, but foolish. He would perhaps have arrived with 100 men. The only fault that Lord Cornwallis committed was to remain at York; but it was not his, but that of General Clinton, who ordered it; he only obeyed.

We captured in York 7600 men, of whom 2000 sick and 400 wounded; 400 fine dragoon horses, and 174 pieces of artillery, of which 74 of bronze; the greater part of this artillery consists of small mortars of 4 to 6 inches. There were about forty vessels, the most of which are sunk or damaged. There was one vessel of 50 guns which the battery on our left had set on fire by red hot shot; it was burned.

Our army was composed of 8000 men, and the Americans had about the same number, in all 15 to 16,000 men. We had 274 killed or wounded and 10 officers.

Williamsburg, 25th March, 1782.

The last letter I had the honor to write you, my dear father, was of the 4th March from Philadelphia. I left there the 9th with the Chevalier de la Luzerne, and we arrived here the 17th. We had a charming journey, and the canteens he brought with him, well supplied with patés, hams, wine and bread, prevented our taking any notice of the

wretchedness of the taverns, where only salt food is to be found, and no bread. In Virginia only cakes made of the flour of Indian corn, which is slightly roasted before the fire; this cooks the outside a little, but the inside is only uncooked paste. Their only drink is *thum*, which is sugar brandy mixed with water; this is called *grogg*. The apples have failed this season, which has deprived them of cider. At 250 miles from here, in the section which is called *the Mountains*, it is quite different. The country is richer; it is there that the great tobacco crops are raised, and the soil yields grain and all kinds of fruit; but in the part which borders on the sea, and which is called *the Plain*, where we now are, only Tobacco is cultivated. The principal production of Virginia is tobacco; not that this province, which is the most extensive of the 13, is not capable of other culture, but the laziness and vanity of the inhabitants are a great drawback to industry— It seems indeed that the Virginians are another race of beings; instead of attending to their farms, and engaging in trade, each proprietor wishes to be a lord. A white never labors, but, as in the Islands, all the work is done by the negro slaves, who are overseen by whites, and there is an intendant at the head of them all. In Virginia there are at least 20 negroes to every white; this is why this province supports but few soldiers in the army. All those who engage in trade are looked upon as inferior to the others; they say that these are not gentlemen, and will not associate with them. They all have aristocratic ideas, and to see them it is hard to comprehend how they could have entered

into a general Confederation, and accepted a government founded on a perfect equality of condition; but the same spirit which has led them to throw off the English yoke may well lead them to other steps, and I shall not be surprised to see Virginia separate from the other States on the peace. I should not be surprised even to see the American government become a complete aristocracy.

We have no political news here. You already know of the capture of Saint-Christopher; a fine possession the English have just lost. There is much talk here of an evacuation of Charleston; 30 transport vessels have arrived there from New York to take troops on board. There were 40 or 50 there before arrived for the same service. Our politicians differ greatly on the object of this evacuation; some think that it is to concentrate all their forces at New York, which seems to be little probable; others that it is to be within reach to carry succor to Jamaica in case she stand in need of it. Since the capture and total dispersion of the convoy of M. de Guichen there should be no anxiety in that direction, and I am rather of the opinion of those who do not believe in the evacuation; what makes me doubt it at this particular moment is that General Clinton would not dare to take so pronounced a step without the orders of his Court; that such orders can only be the result of a general plan of campaign, and that this plan, if it be made, can not yet have reached here.

The capture of a part of the convoy of M. de Guichen is a terrible loss to us; besides the munitions of war and

provisions, with which he was laden, but which can be replaced, we are losing time which can never be regained, and the expedition against Jamaica must have failed. Admiral Rodney is arrived at the Islands with 10 Vessels and troops; that makes his force superior to M. de Grasse, and may well change the face of affairs in that quarter.

Yorktown, 27th March, 1782.

We left Williamsburg this morning, the Chevalier de la Luzerne, M. de Rochambeau and I, for a journey of five or six days. We went to see Portsmouth, on the other side of the James River, beyond Cape Henry. Arrived here, I learned that a small vessel is about leaving here for Europe, and I will not let her go without writing to you.

To-day a vessel arrived here from Martinique; she informs us that no combat had taken place between our fleet and the English fleet, but, on the contrary, that the latter had passed through ours to throw assistance into Saint-Christopher, which assistance had been repulsed; the English fleet had set fire to all its transports, which, driven by the wind against our fleet, laying at anchor before them, had compelled it to raise anchor, and given the English time to escape. This is a fine manoeuvre on the part of Admiral Hood. I can not assure you of the authenticity of this news. I suppose you have more certain information. The same vessel assures us that Rodney had not yet arrived at the Islands.

Williamsburg, 27th May, 1782

We are here in great consternation

about a combat which has taken place between the fleets at the Island. The first news that we had was that we had the advantage, but we yesterday received news from the English, that is to say, by a gazette from New York, which says that the *Ville de Paris*, a ship of 110 guns, on which the Count de Grasse himself was, was captured with six others, and that we have been entirely beaten. This news seems to be very correct from all the particulars which accompany it. The vessels taken are named, the number of killed and wounded on each is specified—in a word it seems impossible that this news is a forgery of a gazetteer. We do not stand up very well under this reverse, and I notice that we allow ourselves to be easily depressed.

It would seem, indeed, as though we were but little accustomed to success from the extreme joy that it causes us and the despondency into which we are plunged by the slightest reverse. This one is very considerable, and destroys this entire campaign; it gives the English a superiority in the Islands; if they conduct themselves with judgment they may do us much harm, and the arrival of a reinforcement of troops to them from Europe may well deprive us of all our conquests. This disaster will have great influence upon us, and compel us to pass this campaign in complete inaction. This is a miserable state of things, above all if we are unfortunate enough to remain here. The heat is already extreme; imagine what it will be in the months of July and August.

We have not had any news yet of M. de Lauzun; we have been expecting

him with great impatience, particularly myself; we are beginning to feel quite uneasy about him.

Philadelphia, 8th August, 1782

The last letter I had the honor to write you, my dear father, was of the 16th July, also from Philadelphia. I was there with M. de Rochambeau, who had appointed a rendezvous with General Washington to confer together on the operations of the campaign. As a result of this conference I was sent on the 19th to York, in Virginia, on a mission then secret but no longer so; this was to embark, as soon as possible, our siege artillery, which we had left at West Point, 8 leagues above York on the same river, and move it up the Chesapeake Bay to Baltimore. This operation required great secrecy and promptitude, as we had only one vessel of forty guns to escort this convoy, and the English with two frigates would have prevented us from getting out of York River, or have taken some vessels from us. I left ill with a heavy cold, which was considerably increased by the fatigue and heat. As soon as I had begun the embarkation, and everything was moving in order, I came back to report to M. de Rochambeau, who is with the army at Baltimore, and after remaining with him a couple of days, I left with the Chevalier de Châtelux for Philadelphia, where the Chevalier de la Luzerne overwhelmed me with civilities, attentions, kindness, politeness and friendship. The army is to leave Baltimore the 15th to pass here and to march to the North River. I shall wait its arrival here; I must have some rest,

and I could not be in a house more agreeable and comfortable than this.

Our campaign this year will not be as brilliant as the last. The defeat of Count de Grasse, the dispersion of the convoy of M. de Guichen, the capture of that destined for the Indies—all these misfortunes together have deranged all plans and brought all projects to an end. Nothing is left us to do in this country but the siege of New York, and we are too weak for such an enterprise, which depends wholly on a naval superiority; this we have not. Admiral Rodney has looked to that, and when, perchance, we had it, we did not know how to take advantage of it. We are looking every moment for news from France. We are told that preparations are made for a siege of Gibraltar; until now there has been only a fruitless blockade. If this difficult operation be obstinately pursued, I fear that our campaign must be quite inactive or confined to some long and painful marches. I doubt much the possibility of success at Gibraltar, and I greatly fear that the Spaniards will prove the truth of the bon mot of the man who said on being told that it was the second siege of Troy: *Yes, but the Spaniards are not Greeks.*

The heat is extreme here; I support it perfectly. The drought has been unusual this year; all the brooks are dried up, and our army is greatly troubled to find water; a very necessary thing, nevertheless, in hot weather.

Philadelphia, 17th August, 1782

The 8th of this month the army was at Baltimore, a small town at the head of Chesapeake Bay, and it was to

march the 15th of the same month to the North or Hudson's River, but the news and prospects of peace which we had from England by way of New York delayed our march, and we only begin our movement on the 20th towards our first destination; this is the result of a correspondence our generals had together. It seems very probable that we shall have a hard and fatiguing campaign this year; marches and encampment in the late season are terrible in this country; the rains are continual, and the roads almost impracticable; these, probably, are the only enemies we shall have occasion to combat this year.

From the news which we have from England, for we have none yet from France, it appears that peace is not distant. England seems to be quite disposed to it if France be only modest in its demands. This country asks nothing more, particularly since the King of England declares them independent; and I believe that Holland does not find enough interest in the war to desire to continue it. The English appear to conduct themselves with less hostilities in this country; they have forbidden all their partisans, *tories* and *refugees*, as they are called, to make incursions or expeditions into the country without a permit signed by the commandant of the place. They have sent all the prisoners to England without coming to any understanding as to their exchange. General Carlton, who commands at New York, has informed General Washington in a very polite note which he wrote him, that the King, his master, has granted independence to America; that he has sent to Paris a man with full powers to

treat, and proposes to General Washington to agree upon an exchange of prisoners. All this seems to imply peace; we all believe that if it be not already signed it surely will be in the course of the winter, and that we may embark in the spring. This thought causes universal joy; it gives me a pleasure that I am unable to express; the hope of seeing you, my dear father, is one that can only be felt.

Crompond Camp, 3d October, 1782

The last letter I had the honor of writing you, my dear father, was of the month of August. Since then we have been constantly on the road, and I have not had an opportunity to send you any word. The army has crossed the Delaware and the North or Hudson's Rivers, and we are encamped 10 miles from this latter and 24 miles from the island of New York. It seems highly probable that we shall finish our campaign here, and leave for our winter quarters; it is not known and I dare not say where they will be.

Charleston is evacuated, and consequently the English have nothing left to the south of the continent; their possessions are at present confined to the islands of Long Island, Staten Island and New York. There is much talk of the evacuation of the last; while Lord Rockingham was alive I believe it was resolved upon; now all seems changed. Our generals believe it, however. I am not of their opinion. I believe that 2,000 English troops are being sent to the islands, and that the Germans with the remainder, to the number of 10,000, are left in New York. If the evacua-

tion take place we have nothing to do but to return to France.

Although we have seen no enemy the campaign has been very severe; we have suffered a great deal from the heat, and now the cold begins to make itself felt quite sharply. I support all these changes perfectly, and only find myself the better for them. I have a tent this year and a mattress; I am not very well off for coverings but my cloak takes their place.

—

Boston, 30th November, 1782

The last letter I had the honor to write you, my dear father, was of the 3d November from Hartford, where the army halted 8 days waiting until the fleet of M. de Vandreuil should be ready. We left on the 4th and on the 10th reached Providence, where our stay was protracted, waiting for the fleet to be ready to take us on board. I took advantage of this delay to visit Newport, which is only 10 leagues distant, to see my acquaintances and bid them adieu.

We left Providence the 4th and arrived here the 6th. We embarked at once. I am on board the *Brave* of 74 guns with the Count de Deux-Ponts and our first three companies; the Chevalier d'Amblimont commands her; he behaved very badly on the day of the 12th April; he fled instead of obeying the signals, and replied to M. de Bougainville, who hailed him and demanded to know the reason of such extraordinary conduct, *that the fleet being lost he must at least save one ship for the King*. He is very amiable and polite; he has a good ship; I am well lodged; he lives well. This is all I need. I forgive him his want of courage.

It seems certain that we are bound for the cape to take the orders of Don Galvez; this is surely to attempt an expedition against Jamaica; while that against Gibraltar, which has lasted five years, shall have failed or succeeded, the one we shall undertake against Jamaica will be decided before the month of July, and our return to France probably depends upon this expedition. A person worthy of confidence, and one who is in a position to know, has informed me that we shall not remain long at the Islands, and that we may very well be in France next summer.

We do not yet know whether the English have evacuated Charleston or not; this must seem quite extraordinary; it is, in fact, strange that having an army 10 leagues from there we should be in uncertainty concerning an event of this interest; but communications in this country are so slow and uncertain that we are for the most part without other news than through the New York Gazette. An express bravely gets over 8 leagues a day when it should make 12 or 13. This, perhaps, is for want of arrangement. There is considerable talk of an evacuation of New York; it is said that even the English talk of it; I do not believe it at all. The surrender of this place will have its weight in the treaty of peace.

M. de Rochambeau left us at Providence; the entire army regrets it and with good reason. He has gone to Philadelphia where he will embark on the frigate *La Gloire*. I handed to him a letter similar to this; you will receive them, perhaps, at the same time. This goes by the frigate *L'Iris*. The Baron de

Viomesnil commands the army and leads us to the Islands. He leaves us and returns from there to France as soon as we arrive.

I informed you in my last that the Duc de Lauzun remains in America with his legion ; I thought that the siege artillery would be taken, but that has been changed ; it remains at Baltimore where it now is with 400 men detached from different regiments, and near 400 sick who will be perfectly well before spring. This makes in all 1,400 men who are under the orders of M. de Lauzun, and who will probably have nothing to do but remain here until the peace. The Duke and his legion will be quartered at Wilmington, 9 leagues south of Philadelphia.

I cannot repeat to you often enough, my dear father, how much I am attached to the Duke de Lauzun and how fond I am of him ; he is the noblest soul and most straightforward character that I know. Among the equipments which he brought, and which have all been lost, there were several things for me of which he knew I was in need, and part of which I begged him to bring for me. He has never been willing to tell me what the value of these was, and has always answered me that it was a mere bagatelle—that it was not worth speaking of. I should never end if I were to tell you all the kind and delicate acts I know of him.

The whole army regrets going to the Islands ; even I am not well satisfied. We saw the departure of M. de Rochambeau with regret ; every one was satisfied to be under his command. This is far from the case with the Baron de Viomesnil. As for myself personally I

should be perfectly content. The Baron has always treated me with politeness and distinguished attentions. The Baron is very quick and high-tempered ; he has not the precious sang-froid of M. de Rochambeau. He was the only man capable to command us here, and to maintain the perfect harmony which has existed between two nations so different in their manners and their language, and who, at bottom, have no love for each other. There were never any disputes between our two armies during the period we were together, but there were often just causes of complaint on our side. Our allies have not always conducted themselves well towards us, and the time we have passed with them has not taught us to love or esteem them. M. de Rochambeau himself has not always had reason to praise them ; notwithstanding which his conduct was always the same. His example had its effect on the army, and the severe orders he gave restrained everybody and enforced that rare discipline which was the admiration of all America and of the English who witnessed it. The wise, prudent and simple conduct of M. de Rochambeau has done more to conciliate America to us than the gain of four battles would have done.

Our fleet at Boston consists of 13 vessels ; here is the list of them. They will set sail as soon the wind permits. The English fleet of 23 sail left New York in two divisions ; the first of 12 vessels under the orders of Admiral Pigot left the 23d October ; the second of 11 vessels went out the 21st of this month, it is reported. Is it to wait for and capture us, or is it to carry the

Charleston garrison to the Islands? We know nothing about it. In a short time all will be made plain.

—
Boston, 21st December, 1782

It is not yet known whether or not Charleston is evacuated; a Philadelphia gazette which has just arrived says that the English are constructing two new redoubts, and that the truce which had been asked for, and was supposed to be a sure sign of evacuation, had been broken, and the place would not be evacuated.

We are all going on board this evening; all the vessels are ready, and if the wind is fair we shall sail tomorrow morning. As soon as I arrive at the Islands you shall hear from me, my dear father, and I shall have the pleasure of assuring you of my respectful attachment.

—
Porto Cabello in South America
(southwest of Curaçoa),

13th February, 1783

I am perfectly well, and the passage, which was long, dull and disagreeable, has not had as much effect upon my physical as my moral condition. The impossibility of any occupation on board, being always in the same room with 45 persons, was frightful. It is a horrible kind of life. The Navy is a wretched profession, particularly in France. On our passage we lost the *Bourgogne*, of 74 guns; 400 men perished.

The country we are in belongs to the Spaniards. It is only inhabited by Negroes, Indians, and Spaniards as black as the Indians. We arrived here

on the 10th in the evening but all scattered. We are now here, 5 vessels arrived at four different times, two or three days after each other. Three are at the Island of Curaçoa where they have been obliged to make port, not being able to go any further. That is 30 leagues from here. Three others are God only knows where; it is now ten days since we saw them. The first convoy of 32 sail, which we took at Boston, we lost sight of by bad manoeuvring in three very heavy gales which we encountered on the American coast. Of a second convoy of 10 sail, which we took at Porto Rico, 5 got in to Curaçoa; the rest are probably lost. They came with us as far as the point west of this island, but when it became necessary to beat up against the wind to reach Porto Cabello they could not hold up against the wind, and were compelled to run before it. The currents were also so strong that in one night we were carried 13 leagues back from where we were at sunset. We were 13 days between Curaçoa and the main land, making 35 leagues. It was opposite to Curaçoa that the *Bourgogne* was lost. But after all we are arrived here safe and sound; that is a great deal. I would never have believed it, and it is only by a miracle. I do not know why it is, but the English never lose as much as we do.

—
Porto Cabello, 10th March, 1783

Porto Cabello is a wretched place and offers no resources of any kind. The port is superb; vessels of 80 guns go to the wharf; it can hold 50 vessels, and with some labor 100 might be at their ease in it. If Porto Cabello were

in other hands than of the Spaniards, it might be made one of the finest settlements on the coast of South America; but the government will not open its eyes to its own advantage; everywhere it seeks to force and to fetter commerce, whereas to flourish it needs the largest liberty. The government, in order to populate the interior of the country, as they say, established the capital at Caraccas, which is 35 leagues from here; they have succeeded in making a pretty town enough of 25,000 to 30,000 souls; but the country in the neighborhood is only inhabited by Negroes and Indians as it was before; and to prevent Porto Cabello from flourishing they forbid building houses there of more than one story, and have made another port at La Guiara, which is only 5 leagues from Caraccas; but this port is only a rude market, and ships are in danger of perdition. It is in these ports that all the cocoa trade is carried on; that which grows in this part of America is the best. A trade in cotton and leather is also done here, but it is so crippled by custom houses, duties, monopolies of every kind, that it does not amount to much. I propose, in a few days, to make a journey to Caraccas; all the colonels of the army and several other officers are now there; I shall wait their return before leaving.

We have not yet any news of the Spanish fleet; we do not know where it is, or what are the reasons which delay its arrival here. We are waiting for it with the greatest impatience.

By letters received from Madrid some eight days ago it seems that peace is very probable. I hope sincerely that

it may be made, or that we shall be sent to carry on the war somewhere else.

I am still in very good health; we have very few sick. The heat is extreme, but I support it perfectly, and I am still wearing a cloth suit lined with woollen while all the rest are clothed in linen. My eyes have troubled me a little, which I attribute to the reflection of the sun, which is very intense, on the houses, which are white. I have begun to use tobacco again, and it is now passing off a little.

NOTES

FRENCH FREEMASONS.—The following list of French officers who joined the Freemasons' Lodge of St. John, at Newport, Rhode Island, in 1790, is a copy of the original from the Records of the Lodge:

May—*Officers of Rochambeau*: Pierre Armand Aboyneaux.*

October 19—Wm. Adancourt, Claude Barille, John Buitden, James Cullio, Allen Cavalier, Joseph Collones, Antoine de Chartres, John Louis de Sybille,† Mons. de Moulin, Jean Baptiste Fiory, Mons. Jennecourt, Henry La Neal, John Lagoud, J. Montelier, Joseph Moneta, S. C. Demoulins Rochefort, Peter St. Phillips, Benjamin Seelye.

* Married a Malbone, and took her to France.

† Secretary to Rochambeau.

Newport, R. I.

J. E. M.

PORTRAITS OF FRENCH OFFICERS.—Names of French officers whose portraits appear in the picture of the Surrender of Lord Cornwallis, by Trumbull,

in the rotunda of the Capitol at Washington.

These portraits were obtained in Paris, 1787, and painted by Trumbull from the living men, in the house of Mr. Jefferson, then Minister to France from the United States.

- 1 Count Deux-Ponts, Colonel of French Infantry.
- 2 Duke de Laval Montmorency, Colonel of French Infantry.
- 3 Count Custine, Colonel of French Infantry.
- 4 Duke de Lauzun, Colonel of French Cavalry.
- 5 General Choizy.
- 6 Viscount Vioménil.
- 7 Marquis de St. Simon.
- 8 Count Fersen, Aid-de-Camp of Count Rochambeau.
- 9 Count Charles Damas, Aid-de-Camp of Count Rochambeau.
- 10 Marquis Chastellux.
- 11 Baron Vioménil.
- 12 Count de Barras, Admiral.
- 13 Count de Grasse, Admiral.
- 14 Count Rochambeau, General en Chef des Français.

These names and their numbers are taken from the key to the picture.

EDITOR.

GRAVEYARD INSCRIPTIONS IN ALLEGHANY COUNTY, PA.—In the burying ground at West Elizabeth, Alleghany county, Pa., repose the mortal remains of two young patriots, whose memory deserves to be preserved in a more enduring material than the crumbling stones which mark their graves. They were volunteers to suppress the Whiskey Insurrection, and died from hardships and

exposure consequent to a campaign in a very inclement season. The following are the brief records on their tombstones:

LIEUT. ALEXANDER BEALL
of Berkley Co., Va.

Jan 11, 1795
Aged 20.

THOS. WALKER
of Albermarle Co.
Virginia.

Jan. 16, 1795
Aged 20.

I. C.

—
MEREDITH CLYMER—Another young patriot, a son of George Clymer, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, is interred in the First Presbyterian Churchyard, Pittsburg. He was a member of the First Troop Philadelphia City Cavalry, commanded by Captain John Dunlap. He died November 18, 1794, in camp, at Parkinson's Ferry, on the Monongahela River, and was buried from the residence of his father's friend, General John Neville, in Pittsburg, on the 23d of November. The stone which once marked his grave has disappeared, and his last resting place cannot now be positively identified.

Alleghany City, Pa.

I. C.

—
MACOMB'S DAM.—This structure was thrown across the Harlem River many years ago by Robert Macomb, son of Gen. Alexander Macomb, for the benefit of his tide flour-mill at Kingsbridge. It was situated a little to the east of the present High Bridge, and at the terminus of the Eighth Avenue car line, where the

Central Bridge crosses. It has disappeared with the new time, as also the mill, which once did a large business, and was furnished with an elevator for loading and unloading vessels. The unique and invaluable historical illustrated work, Lossing's "Field Book of the Revolution," gives a good picture of the old mill. Mr. Macomb occupied his father's ancient and elegant mansion, since and for thirty years past the residence of Joseph Godwin, Esq., of Kingsbridge. This gentleman has added important improvements to this fine historical house, but its immensely thick stone walls are unchanged. Mr. Macomb is remembered by old citizens as a man of great affability and courteous manners.

W. H.

MR. LEE'S PLAN.—In a foot-note on page 330, Vol. IX, of his History of the United States Mr. Bancroft, alluding to this important document, says: "The merit of discovering the plan belongs to George H. Moore, the author of *The Treason of Charles Lee*."

In this statement there is a slight error. In the autumn of 1856 the late Abraham Tomlinson, a collector of and dealer in rare documents in manuscript, autographs, etc., came to my study in New York with a parcel of manuscripts, which he had for sale. He said that they belonged to a man from Nova Scotia, and that they were found among the papers of General Sir William Howe. Among these was a manuscript of nine foolscap pages, folded in form for filing, with the endorsement in the handwriting of Henry Stratchey (the Secretary of General Howe), "Mr. Lee's

Plan, 29th March, 1777." I asked Mr. Tomlinson to leave the manuscript with me, which he did for a few hours, with the injunction not to copy a word of it. I carefully perused it, and perceived its great importance if genuine. I then had the Schuyler papers in my possession, among which were two or three letters written by General Charles Lee to General Schuyler, one of them dated "Feb. 28, 1776." I compared the handwriting of these letters with that of "The Plan," and was satisfied that the latter was genuine.

The price asked for this manuscript I was unwilling to pay, and I recommended M. Tomlinson to call on Mr. Moore, then the Librarian of the New York Historical Society, and offer it to him for the archives of the Society. I am under the impression that I gave Mr. Tomlinson a note of introduction to Mr. Moore. The latter purchased the manuscript, and afterwards, with his usual industry, with patient research, he prepared and published the valuable monograph, entitled "*The Treason of Charles Lee*," with a *fac-simile* of the "Plan." This was the first announcement to the world of the long-suspected fact that General Charles Lee was undoubtedly a traitor to the cause he had espoused. Very recently a manuscript has been put into my hands, written by one of the most prominent actors in the scenes of the Revolution, which casts light upon the history of the production of "Mr. Lee's Plan." BENSON J. LOSSING.

THE SPLIT BUSH—A SIGN FOR THE GODLY.—*Virginia, April 16, 1791.* For about eight hundred miles which I have

rode since I landed in South Carolina, we have had hardly any rain. But this day, the 16th, we were wetted to the skin. However, we at last happily found our way to the house of a Friend by the Preachers Mark—the *Split bush*.

This circumstance may appear to many immaterial; however, as it may convey some idea of the mode in which the Preachers are obliged to travel in this country, I will just enlarge upon it.—When a new Circuit is formed in these immense forests, the Preacher, whenever he comes in the first instance to a junction of several roads or paths, splits two or three of the bushes that lie on the side of the right path, that the Preachers who follow him may find out their way with ease. In one of the Circuits the wicked discovered the secret, and split bushes in wrong places on purpose to deceive the Preachers.—*Journal of the Rev. Thomas Coke.*

W. K.

JOHNNY CAKE.—It has been generally supposed that "Johnny Cake" was a corruption of "Journey Cake;" but Colonel Loudermilk, in his History of Cumberland, mentions a much more probable origin of the name. Speaking of the Shawanese he says: "A favorite article of diet amongst these Indians was a cake made of maize beaten as fine as the means at command would permit. This was mixed with water, and baked upon a flat stone which had been previously heated in the fire. The trappers followed the Indians' example in the baking of 'Shawnee cakes,' as they called them, and the lapse of a few years was sufficient to corrupt the term

into that of 'Johnny cake,' so familiar throughout the South, and in common use at this day."

Alleghany, Pa.

I. C.

THE ROCHAMBEAU PAPERS.—A proposition is now before Congress which deserves its early and favorable consideration. This is the purchase of the Rochambeau papers, which are offered for sale by the Marquis de Rochambeau, the representative of the family, and their present custodian. A carefully prepared inventory of this collection shows it to consist of fifteen hundred documents, including a large number of autograph letters of the American and French chiefs, diplomatic and military, of letters in cypher with their key, and of numerous maps and plans in drawing and engraving. The centennial anniversary of the landing of Rochambeau and the French contingent occurs in 1880, and it is greatly to be hoped, that in the preparation of the addresses which will doubtless make part of the ceremonies on this interesting occasion, and which should be under the *direction* and *patronage* of the Government of the United States, our historians may have access to this invaluable mine of original material.

EDITOR.

QUERIES

MOURNING WOMEN.—The funeral of Lady Andros, who died in Boston, Feb. 10, 1687-8, is thus described by Sewall in his Diary: "Between 4 and 5 I went to the Funeral of the Lady Andros having been invited by the Clark of the South Company. Between 7 and 8

(Lychus [Lynchs? *i. e.*, links or torches,] illuminating the cloudy air). The Corps was caried into the Herse drawn by Six Horses, the Soldiers making a Guard from the Governour's House down the Prison Lane to the South Meeting house, there taken out and carried in at the western dore and set in the Alley before the pulpit, with six mourning women by it. House made light with Candles and Torches. Was a great noise and clamor to keep people out of the House that might not rush in too soon— I went home where about nine o'clock I heard the Bells toll again for the funeral—"

This is the first instance I have seen of *women as mourners* at a funeral. Is there any other? HISTORIAN.

MELLON AND MALONE.—What was the origin of the naming of Mellon's Bay in Jefferson county, N. Y.? Why was the name of the town of Ezrville in Franklin county, N. Y., changed to Malone? MELLON.

A CANTSLOPER.—In Colonel John May's Journal, p. 54, he says: "At 11 A. M. paid the visit to our Governor, wrapped in my cantsloper, and was received most graciously." What kind of a garment is a cantsloper?

Alleghany, Pa.

I. C.

GEN. SETH POMEROY.—This officer's death is said to have taken place at Peekskill, N. Y., February 19, 1777. Can any reader give me any particulars concerning his death or the place of his burial? C.

NEW YORK SOCIETY LIBRARY.—British Empire in America, by Herman Moll, London, A. D. 1708, Vol I., p.

128, says: "A Library was erected this year (1700) in the city of New York." Was not this the germ of the New York Society Library? JONES.

GENERAL FRAZER'S BURIAL PLACE.—Were the remains of General Simon Frazer removed from their resting place on the upper Hudson? Is there any positive information concerning the present resting place of that gallant officer?

Rochester, N. Y.

H. C. M.

THE FINE ARTS IN NEWPORT.—At Mr. Isaac Hart's a jew,* living at the point in Newport, Rhode Island, there is a portrait of the Czar Peter 1st, done I believe by Sir Geodfrey Kneller, or some of his disciples, but finished by himself, it is a bust, in armor with an imperial mantle on his shoulders.

At Mr. John Bannister's farm, a mile and a half from Newport, there is a picture, 3 quarters, of Charles 1st, and his Queen. Of the Queen of Charles II. As I suppose of King William and Queen Mary, a beautiful picture. Cleopatra dying, is an oval frame, a picture bust of Oliver Cromwell, represented very ugly, and an oval picture bust of Vandyke, supposed to have been done by himself, very fine. With several more of lesser note, also a head of Spenser, very good.—*Du Simmitaire Mss.*, 1769.

*Mr. Isaac Hart, of Newport, in Rhode Island, formerly an eminent merchant and ever a loyal subject, was inhumanly fired upon and bayoneted, wounded in fifteen different parts of his body, and beat with their muskets in the most shocking manner in the very act of imploring quarter, and died of his wounds a few hours after, universally regretted by every true lover of his King and country.—*Account of the attack on Fort St. George, Rivington's Gazette*, Dec. 2, 1780.

What has become of these pictures? *Newport.* A. H.

THE PRINCE DE BROGLIE?—Running through four successive numbers (March to June) of the first volume of the Magazine of American History, the late Mr. Thomas Balch contributed a very interesting narrative of a visit to this country in 1782, written by Claude Victor de Broglie, whom he is pleased to style "*the Prince de Broglie*." It is in regard to the title given to the author of the Narrative that this communication refers.

The preliminary note on page 180 gives some account of the writer and his family, in which it is said that Francois Marié (1), Maréchal de France, was created *Duc de Broglie* in 1742, whose son Victor Francois (2), the second *duke*, died at Munster in 1804, "and his son, Claude Victor (3), our author, born in 1757," was guillotined June 27, 1794. The note further states that the "*Prince de Broglie*" left one son, "Victor Charles (4), the late *Duc de Broglie*," who married the daughter of Madame de Stael, and whose son (5) is the present *Duke*. Now out of this genealogical record how is Claude Victor de Broglie, who died at the early age of thirty-seven, and before his father, created a *Prince*, when there is nothing elsewhere in the Narrative to show how he became entitled to the title?

This inquiry, which is not without interest, has been caused by the recent publication of a remarkable and important work, "The King's Secret," by the present *Duc de Broglie*, in fact a memoir of the diplomatic services of Charles Francois, Comte de Broglie, the uncle of Claude Victor. (See Review in Robinson's Epitome of Literature

for May 1st.) In the closing pages of the work the author refers to Claude Victor by name, but nowhere is anything said of his, or any other member of the family, having been created *Prince*. Do not these facts and circumstances show that the author of the interesting Narrative referred to did not claim and had no right to the title given him by Mr. Balch; that he did not even inherit his father's title of Duke?

Mr. Balch must also have been in error in his statement that the second *Duc de Broglie* "died at Munster in 1804." The present Duke says (Vol. II. p. 533): "*He was still living in 1804*, when the First Consul, reestablishing the dignity of Marshal of France, offered to reopen his country to him, and to restore his military honors. He refused, and died in a strange land."

CHARLES HENRY HART.

Philadelphia, May 1, 1879.

ANDRÉ — MONUMENT INSCRIPTION.—

The New York Sun has published the inscriptions Cyrus W. Field proposes to cut on the André monument. One is as follows: "*He was more unfortunate than criminal; an accomplished man and a gallant officer.*" George Washington."

I would like to know where Mr. Field finds the above quotation. The only thing resembling it I have been able to find is as follows: "André met his fate with that fortitude which was to be expected from an accomplished man and a gallant officer." (Sparks, VII, 256.) I have sought in vain for the clause—"He was more unfortunate than criminal."

Alleghany, Pa.

I. C.

REPLIES

DE BRY'S VOYAGES.—(III, 262.) The literature about DeBry is too extensive and formidable to be transferred to the pages of the Magazine. If "Bibliopole" will consult Dibdin, Brunet and Graesse, he will find the answer to his question.

New York.

B. R. B.

AN AUTHOR'S NAME.—(III, 263.) The author of Essays on Various Subjects of Taste, Morals and National Policy, by a citizen of Virginia, was George Tucker. An account of him may be found in Allibone's Dictionary.

B. R. B.

ANDRE'S REMAINS.—(III, 203.) An account of the removal of the remains of Major André from Tappan to Westminster Abbey, written by James Buchanan, British Consul to New York, may be found in the "United Service Journal" for November, 1833. There are also accounts in Mrs. Child's "Letters from New York," and Dr. Thatcher's "Observations Relating to the Execution of Major André." The correspondence between Dr. Thatcher and Mr. Buchanan, in regard to certain statements made by the latter, is in the New England Magazine for May, 1834.

The querist should consult Sargent's "Life of André," and also "The Case of Major André" in Vol. VI. of the "Memoirs of Historical Society of Pennsylvania" for 1858.

C. A. C.

—In reply to inquiry of "W. N.," concerning an account of the removal from Tappan to England of the remains of André, I will call his attention to

a communication from "a lady of Richfield Springs," embodying such account, in the New York Evangelist of January 30, 1879. Also to an important reply to it from James Demarest, Jr., in same paper, February 27th.

H. W. K.

Brooklyn, N. Y., April 1, 1879.

COL. BROADHEAD'S EXPEDITION OF 1779.—(III, 315.) I know of no volume which contains the report to which A. E. refers. The expedition is related by De Hass in his volume on Western Virginia. The report in full is printed in the Pennsylvania Packet of October 19, 1779.

W. K.

—The report desired will be found in *Craig's Olden Time, Vol. II*, 308.

Alleghany, Pa. ISAAC CRAIG.

—A. E. will find what he enquires for in "The Olden Times," Vol. II.; and also Broadhead's correspondence with others than Pickering, on the expedition, in "Pennsylvania Archives," Appendix, 1790.

Brownsville, Pa.

H. E. H.

MRS. HORSMANDEN.—(I, 197.) Valentine's Manual for 1864, page 619, says the Rev. Wm. Vesey was married in 1698 to Mrs. Mary Reade, a widow.

C.

GOTHAM.—(I, 633.) This correspondent may find an answer to his query by consulting Wheeler's "Dictionary of Fictitious Names."

A.

THE QUIDEM.—(III, 202.) Respecting the query on this subject, it may be

said that in Father Rasle's Indian Dictionary (American Academy of Sciences, Vol. I. n. s.) the term is given as "Ag8iden," seeming to indicate canoes in general. In Rasle's alphabet "8i" has a guttural sound of "ou," very difficult to be pronounced.

ABENAKE.

LOST LOCALITIES.—(III. 203.) "The Forest-of-Dean" lies north of the Dun-derberg, and a little west of the Hudson River. See Eager's "History of Orange County, N. Y."

C.

THE FIRST GREAT QUARTO BIBLE IN AMERICA.—(III. 312.) It may be possible that the quarto Bible printed by Isaac Collins, mentioned in your last issue, was the first produced in this country, but the statement made in Caleb Cresson's Diary that his hands were at work upon it on the 25th of August, 1791, is not conclusive evidence of priority.

I have before me a large quarto Bible, containing 1399 pages, illustrated with fifty full-page engravings, printed at Worcester, Mass., in 1791, by Isaiah Thomas. Until it appears that Isaac Collins completed his Bible in 1791, I shall persistently claim that Isaiah Thomas printed the first great quarto Bible in America.

Worcester, Mass. CLARK JILLSON.

INWOOD - ON - HUDSON vs. TUBBY HOOK.—(III. 261.) In reply to the query in the April number of the Magazine as to the origin of the name Tubby

Hook, on Hudson River, the writer made inquiries about twenty-five years ago. All replies were to the same effect, that the name was given from an old occupant of the locality. Endeavoring to ascertain whether the said Tubby had been the occasional ferryman to the Jersey shore—for there was formerly a ferry thence—no information could be obtained. The change of name, a few years since, to that of Inwood, a designation so common to private places about New York, was far from agreeable to some at least of the old residents.

Fieldston, April, 1879. M. L. D.

—In one of the recent queries in the Magazine of American History some one asks the meaning or derivation of Tubby Hook.

There is no Hollandish or Dutch word which exactly corresponds to this. It may be derived from *Tobbe*, a washing place, because the point forms a cove, and affords excellent bathing; or from *Tobben*, because the tide runs strongly and dangerously around the hook or point; or, thirdly, from *Tobbes*, the name of the stickle-back, a peculiar fish, which may have resorted in numbers to this locality. The spelling even of proper names was often variable and inaccurate a century or two since, even in elevated society. *Vide* correspondence and journals of early settlers.

J. WATTS DE PEYSTER.

New York.

LAFAYETTE AN AMERICAN CITIZEN.—(III. 202.) On page 81, New England Historical-Genealogical Register, Vol.

XXIV, 1870, a correspondent says: "Lafayette was made a citizen of Maryland by statute in 1784. He was also made a citizen of Virginia about the same time in the same manner. See 12 Henings' Statutes, p. 30.

As a citizen of Maryland and of Virginia he was of course a citizen of the United States before the Constitution—and if he had not been, he was expressly made such with the rest of their citizens by the terms of that instrument. Washington, in his correspondence respecting Lafayette's imprisonment in 1796, expressly says: "Lafayette is an adopted citizen of this country," though he had not renounced his French allegiance. J. F. W. can verify the above, I suppose, by reference to the Maryland and Virginia Statutes.

H. E. H.

Brownsville, Pa., April 10, 1879.

—(III. 202.) In the *Mémoires historiques et pièces authentiques sur M. de La Fayette*, published at Paris, 1793-4 (chapter upon the visit of Lafayette to New York, 30th June, 1784), M. de Crèvecoeur quotes a letter, announcing that the General Assembly of Connecticut had just passed a law naturalizing both the Marquis and his son citizens of the State, and congratulating himself that it was "Connecticut which had given on this continent the *second* example of a sovereign State offering unsolicited all of its privileges to a stranger."

Maryland, I believe, was the first State to accord to him this grateful testimony of their gratitude, no doubt in

memory of his campaign of 1781, when he made Annapolis his headquarters.

EDITOR.

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REVOLUTIONARY PENSIONS. — (III. 263.) An account of John Gray of Mount Vernon, the *last* soldier of the Revolution, by J. M. Dalzell, a pamphlet, was published in Washington in 1868.

Harvard College Library. J. W.

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DE LA NEUVILLE.—(III. 316.) Among the autograph letters sold some years since in Baltimore, for a charitable object, was one from Alexander Hamilton to James McHenry, Secretary of War, dated January 19, 1797, introducing "Mrs. de Neuville, widow of Mr. De Neuville of Holland, a gentleman who had embarked very zealously and very early in the cause of this country—was instrumental in promoting it, and, as I understand, an object of persecution in consequence of it, which was a link in the chain of his pecuniary ruin. I think his widow has a strong claim upon the kindness of our country, as far as a general consideration will admit relief."

This may aid in the discrimination of the persons of this name. EDITOR.

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PARENTAGE OF JACOB LEISLER.—(II. 494 and III. 57.) Having observed in the register of the Academy of Geneva the name of a student, the son of Jacobus Victorianus Leisler of Frankfort, I suggested in the Magazine of American History (II. 494) the possibility that Jacobus may have been the father of Jacob Leisler of New York, a theory

which seemed to me the more plausible because of two or three considerations, among which I mentioned, first, the *identity of the surnames*.

Your correspondent, E. C. B. (III. 58) takes exceptions to this remark. "The author," he says, "in the hurry of translation makes a slip. There is no such identity. *Jacobi Victoriani filius* is the son of *James* Victorian, not *Jacob*."

Permit me to remind E. C. B. that the surnames *Jacob* and *Jacobus* or *James* have in German but one equivalent, *Jacob*. When, therefore, it behooved John Henry of Frankfort to sign his name in the University register at Geneva, it was optional with him to render his German father's surname *Jacob* into Latin, either as *Jacob* or as *Jacobus*. Perhaps he did not know—quite as likely he did not care—whether his father had been named for the Patriarch or for the Apostle. At all events the name *Jacobus* *Leisler* could have been in its original German form nothing else than *Jacob* *Leisler*.

I am aware that in the German Bible the Hebrew name and its Greek derivative are distinguished, as in the Vulgate and the Septuagint (but not in Josephus), the form "*Jacob*" occurring in the book of Genesis, and the form "*Jacobus*" in the New Testament. There is, however, no such distinction in common use in German. K. E. Georges' *Deutsch-Lateinisches Handwörterbuch*: "*JACOB, Vorname, JACOBUS.*"

"In Russia and in Germany and the countries more immediately related thereto, the name has retained its orig-

inal form, and accordingly there alone there would seem to be *no distinction between Jacob and James*." (Dictionary of the Bible, by William Smith, LL.D., vol. i., p. 918, *note*.)

Even in countries where such a discrimination is usual, "its modern dress," adds the authority quoted last, "sits very lightly on the name, and we see in 'Jacobite' and 'Jacobin' how ready it is to throw it off, and, like a true Oriental, reveal its original form." (Ibid.) "The French themselves were not always particular as to the mode of rendering into Latin a name in which they are supposed to have a special interest. In the lists of French Protestants naturalized in England, *Jacobus* 'seems to stand for *Jacob* and *James*,'" says Agnew. (Protestant Exiles from France in the Reign of Louis XIV., vol. i., p. 37. Elsewhere, it is true, he expresses himself less confidently—p. 72, *note*.) Castalio, or Châteillon, the French theologian, at one time professor of classical literature in Geneva, gives in his Latin translation of the Bible (Basle, 1573) the form *Jacobus*, throughout both Testaments, where the French version discriminates between *Jacob* and *Jacques*.

Other authorities might be cited, as that of Cole's English-Latin and Latin-English Dictionary (1717), which gives "*Jacobus*" as the rendering of *Jacob* and of *James* alike. The German usage, however, is conclusive as to the case before us. The Frankfort *Leisler*'s name was certainly identical with that of the American patriot—or usurper.

C. W. B.

(Publishers of Historical Works wishing Notices, will address the Editor, with Copies, Box 100, Station D—N. Y. Post office.)

TRANSACTIONS OF THE LITERARY
AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC. Ses-
sions of 1877-8-9. 8vo, pp. 160. Quebec, 1879.

In a valuable paper read before the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec on the 19th December, 1877, by Mr. Louis P. Turcotte, printed in the French original in this volume, will be found an account of the origin and purposes of this Society, which in the absence of any Record Office has done good service in the preservation of historical documents. It was organized at the instigation of Governor Lord Dalhousie in January, 1824. Its first volume of transactions was issued in 1829, a second in 1830, and a third in 1837. In 1832, the Legislature coming to its aid with a sum of three hundred pounds, the managers of the Society judiciously resolved to begin the purchase in Europe of original documents relating to the history of Canada.

While waiting the realization of this effort the Society published in 1838 a volume, containing a document supposed to be written by M. de Vaublanc, a naval officer, entitled "*Mémoire sur le Canada, depuis 1749 jusqu'en 1760.*" A second volume, issued in 1840, contained three documents copied at Versailles for Lord Durham, and five of those supplied by the Abbé John Holmes. In 1843 a third, containing the three Voyages de Jacques Cartier en Canada, the Routier de Jean Alphonse de Xaintonge, the Voyage du Sieur de Roberval, and the Lettres de Jacques Noël. Their publication used up the three hundred pounds voted, but the Legislature, in view of the importance of the work, voted a second sum of three hundred pounds and an annual donation of fifty pounds. The Society then began a manuscript collection on a more extended scale. Of these the first series of seventeen volumes contains copies of the official correspondence of the Governors of Canada, 1631-1763, from the Paris Archives. The second series of six volumes is entitled Documents and Colonial History, and composed of papers selected from the London Archives. The third and last series of five volumes is made up of—I. Relations du Canada depuis 1682; II. Autre Relation du Canada, 1695-6; III. Voyages fait au Mississippi par d'Iberville et de Surgères; IV. Histoire du Montréal attribuée à M. Dollier Casson; V. Several relations on the siege of Quebec in 1759 and the war of Independence. The member of the Society, to whose enlightened zeal the Society owes much of its success, is M. G. B. Fairbault, who has been six times honored with its Presidency.

The active work of the Society was interrupted by the transfer of the seat of Government, first to Kingston, later to Montreal. In 1847 its numbers were reduced to fourteen paying members. The transactions from 1832 to 1855 are included in a single volume, the fourth of the series. In 1852 the return of the Government service to Quebec gave new vigor and alimment to the institution, but the destruction of the Parliament buildings in 1854, where it had its rooms, was a terrible blow. It lost its museum of natural history, its collections of pictures and a part of its library, but fortunately saved its manuscripts. In 1862 its museum and a part of the library were again destroyed by the fire which consumed the Savings Bank, in which it had quarters, but again fortunately its manuscripts were preserved. In 1863 it began the publication of a new series of its transactions, which has been since continued nearly every year. In 1877 the publications had reached eight volumes of *Mémoires* and ten of *Transactions*. A catalogue of this series is appended to M. Turcotte's sketch.

In the present report we find a paper "On the Aborigines of Canada under the British Crown," by William Clint, with an enumeration of the Indians in the provinces, and an appreciative paper on Emerson the Thinker, read in January of the present year by George Stewart, Jr., author of the recent history of Canada under the administration of the Earl of Dufferin.

Our cordial sympathies and good wishes are with this excellent and industrious institution.

RECORDS OF THE PRESIDENT AND
COUNCIL OF NEW HAMPSHIRE, FROM JANU-
ARY 1, 1679 TO DECEMBER 22, 1688. Edited,
with notes and an introduction, by CHARLES
DEANE, F. S. A. Fifty copies from the
Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical
Society. 8vo, pp. 26. Press of JOHN WIL-
SON & SON. Boston, 1878.

This is the first publication from old manuscripts in the archives of the Massachusetts Historical Society, entitled the Journal of the President and Council of New Hampshire. It consists of twenty-three folio pages, and is in the handwriting of Elias Stileman, the Secretary of the Province. It is supposed to contain details on provincial history of New Hampshire nowhere else to be found. It begins with the entry, dated January 1, 1679, of the receipt by the hands of Edward Randolph of the King's

Commission for the Government of New Hampshire, which, on the decision rendered in England that neither Massachusetts nor Robert Mason had a right to rule the four towns which constituted the territory, the King in Council created a Royal Province. It closes with a minute of the 22d December on a matter of Customs business. Its interest is local.

POEMS OF PLACES. Edited by HENRY W. LONGFELLOW, AMERICA—SOUTHERN STATES, 32mo, pp. 268. The Riverside Press. HOUGHTON, OSGOOD & CO. Boston, 1879.

This is still another of the charming little series, which the name of Longfellow commends to every heart. The antiquary will delight in Michael Drayton's ode, quaint and rare, to the Virginian voyage to the land where "plenty grows of laurel everywhere" for warrior, poet and for sage; here too is perpetuated the spirited stanzas of My Maryland, which stirred many a marching regiment in the field and many an anxious heart at home during the late war. So will the anonymous verses, describing Stonewall Jackson's way. Not so well known is the exquisite little poem entitled Forest Pictures, Georgia, by Paul Hamilton Hayne. And who that heard "Fanny Kemble" read Whittier's feeling stanzas to Barbara Freitchie, the loyal heroine of Frederick town, will not delight to have the melodious tones of her wonderful voice recalled by a perpetual reminder in this beautiful table companion.

THE SILVER QUESTION. By GEORGE M. WESTON. 8vo, pp. 293. Published by I. S. HOMANS. New York, 1878.

The dedication of this volume to the Hon. John P. Jones, whose influence forced the Silver bill through the last Congress, is sufficient indication of its general purpose. Mr. Weston is an unhesitating advocate of the entire restoration of silver as an unlimited legal tender, and the imperative necessity of its free coinage. In his argument he invokes the great authority of Albert Gallatin, confessedly the ablest financier this country has seen since the days of Hamilton, and indeed as excellent an authority as he. Mr. Gallatin certainly favored the double standard, but nowhere, we venture to say, can Mr. Gallatin be found in favor of the admission of a double standard, in which the precise ratio of value between the two metals is not preserved. It is the great fluctuation in the value of silver, consequent on the discovery of immense deposits of silver, and its increased production, that have disturbed its relative value, as compared with gold, and led to a general belief that its use as a measure of value is too unstable to be maintained. This is the reason why the

economists of the world are now arrayed in two camps; those in favor of a single and of a double standard. At the great monetary conference held in France in 1867 the weight of the United States was thrown in favor of a single, and that a gold standard, by Mr. Ruggles, its distinguished representative. In 1878 this position was reversed, the commission adopting the views of Congress, as expressed in the law of February, 1878. Between these dates the great increase in the production of silver has intervened.

Of all the treatises on this question on the silver side, this of Mr. Weston is the best. His argument is clear, and he does not permit his feelings to get the better of his reasoning faculties, an unpardonable error in such disquisitions. In the last number of the Contemporary Review (April, 1879) Mr. Stephen Williamson distinctly asserts that the protracted commercial and manufacturing distress of Great Britain, and of the world at large, is to be directly ascribed to the "suicidal act of discarding, discrediting and cutting off from performing its wonted functions one of the two agents or solvents for the liquidation of balances of international indebtedness," and urges the "rehabilitation of silver to the rank of money both sides of the Atlantic." While as at present advised we should regret to see silver made an unlimited legal tender, we are free to say that we should be glad to see the silver currency of the United States raised to its gold value, and a place made for it in the circulating medium, by the withdrawal of every note of the United States and of the National Banks below the sum of five dollars. In this manner as much silver as we are likely to coin in the next two or three years could be easily absorbed, and to general benefit.

FATHER TOM AND THE POPE; OR A NIGHT AT THE VATICAN. By the late JOHN FISHER MURRAY. With illustrative engravings. 16mo, pp. 96. T. B. PETERSON & BROS. Philadelphia [1878].

This famous squib is *sui generis*. In it satire is mingled with fine critical learning, and although now that the religious controversy, the occasion of which called it out, is what we may term one of the dead issues, and quite out of fashion, it is as readable and amusing as when it first appeared in Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine in 1838. Its authorship has been attributed to various persons, particularly to Dr. Maguire, Rev. Francis Mahony and Samuel Ferguson of Dublin. In a preface "Father Tom" is now affiliated upon its actual author, the late John Fisher Murray. This little edition is pleasantly illustrated and well printed, and we know of scores of libraries where it will be a welcome guest.

ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION, CONSTITUTION, BY-LAWS, OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF THE ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF UTICA. With the Annual Reports of the Officers for 1878, and some account of the collections of the Society and its needs and purposes. Founded 1876, incorporated 1878. 8vo, pp. 38. ELLIS K. ROBERTS & Co., printers. Utica, 1879.

We have already noticed the good work which this Society has done for the exposition of the history of the Mohawk Valley in publishing the Memorial of the Centennial of Oriskany and other papers. Utica is a place of excellent culture and abundant wealth, and her patronage of a Society is assurance of its success. Five papers were read before it last year, a satisfactory sign of its vigorous beginning. And its treasures begin with the Vanderkemp collection of manuscripts and works of art, several thousand in number. We note also a nearly complete set of the pamphlets printed in the Welsh language in Oneida county, beginning with Pigion o Hymnan, by Ira Merrill, at Utica in 1808.

What county in New York State will next follow in this excellent track?

BRYANT MEMORIAL MEETING OF THE CENTURY, TUESDAY EVENING, NOVEMBER 12, 1878. 8vo, pp. 74. Press of G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS. Century Rooms, New York.

In this elegantly printed pamphlet is found a complete account of the memorial meeting of the Century Club in honor of its late President. The programme was of an artistic character, including music, poems by Bayard Taylor, R. H. Stoddard and E. C. Stedman, and an oration by John Bigelow. Mr. Bigelow was for many years the associate of Mr. Bryant in the editorship of the Evening Post, and qualified beyond all others to speak with authority concerning his habits of thought and manner of mental labor, a subject which always interests the literary man.

Few men could say as Bryant of himself that he always wrote his best; that not only was he never satisfied with second-rate work, but that he was willing to publish nothing with which he was not satisfied. This is a severe strain, and none but a thorough mental and physical training could have sustained it. The critical reader will be gratified by Mr. Bigelow's truthful and judicious analysis of journalism as a profession. He divides it into two well-defined schools, one of which aims in daguerotyping the events and humors of the day, the other to direct and shape these events and humors to special standards. One the school of the real, the other of the

ideal. The reader need not be told that the serious philosophic mind of Bryant could not have contented itself except in the latter school.

This oration, differing widely as it does from those of Curtis and Osgood, is to the full as interesting as either. It is clothed in language of pellucid clearness, in every line of which we discern the ripe scholarship and contemplative philosophy which Mr. Bryant sought in his companions and associates, and in the exercise of which the Evening Post may be said to have formed a class of its own in the school of journalism which it followed.

KANSAS CITY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FIRST BIENNIAL REPORT. Submitted at the Annual Meeting, January 21, 1879. 8vo, pp. 63. GEORGE W. MARTIN, publisher. Topeka, Kansas.

The work of this youthful Society appears from this report to be progressing at a satisfactory rate; the collections of books and pamphlets are increasing, and notably the bound newspaper files which, kept up, will prove invaluable to the later historian. A manuscript collection is being formed of letters and documents concerning the earlier history of the State, and to this is added the extensive scrap-books of newspaper clippings, collected by Dr. Webb, the Secretary of the N. E. Emigrant Aid Company. We wish the young Society success.

BERARD'S HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.

Revised by C. E. BUSH. 16mo, pp. 352. COWPERTHWAIT & Co. Philadelphia, 1878.

The author bases the claims of this work, at a time when so many histories of the United States are already before the public, upon its special and practical adaptation to the actual work of teaching. Its plan was wrought out in the class-room, and carefully tested by practical application. Its peculiarity consists in arrangement; each division of the book being preceded by a careful analysis of the subject treated; the text following in the precise order thereby indicated. This purpose is well carried out. A chronological table of principal events since the Columbian discovery, an analysis of the Constitution of the United States, an index and pronouncing vocabulary of Indian and foreign names, increase its value to the teacher. It is remarkably well edited, with clear divisions, and is excellently printed. Some colored maps and well-executed text illustrations add to its attractiveness and value.

SOME EARLY NOTICES OF THE INDIANS OF OHIO. TO WHAT RACE DID THE MOUNDBUILDERS BELONG? By M. F. FORCE. 8vo, pp. 73. ROBERT CLARKE & Co. Cincinnati, 1879.

The first of these papers, read before the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, groups together in chronological order the various notices of the Western tribes of Indians, from the discovery by Champlain in 1609 of the Quatoghies on the eastern shore of Lake Huron. In 1650 these Hurons, or Ouendats, as they called themselves, were nearly destroyed by the Five Nations, and sought refuge among the tribes of the western extremity of Lake Superior. Threatened by the Sioux, they next placed themselves under the protection of the French post of Mackinac, and gradually pushed down to Detroit; and thence extended their settlements and permanently established themselves in the northwestern part of Ohio, where they became known as the Wendots or Wyandots, a corruption of their name of Ouendats. The Miami settled the western portion of Ohio, the Shawnees the Scioto Valley, the Delawares the valley of the Muskingum and the Senecas the northern and eastern borders.

This paper only treats of the history of two tribes, the Eries and the Shawnees, from authentic sources. The Eries, or the Nation du Chat, appear in a list of the sedentary nations that speak the Huron tongue in a relation of 1635. In their contest with the Onondagas, who took to the warpath to avenge the death of one of their chiefs, the Eries were entirely destroyed; and their country on the southern shore of Lake Erie is laid down on a map of 1720 as the "Nation du Chat, détruite." The Chaouanons, Shawanoes, or Shawnees, as they are now termed, emigrated to Ohio after 1750. Parkman says that "their eccentric wanderings, their sudden appearances and disappearances perplex the antiquary and defy research." Nor has recent investigation been able to trace this nomadic tribe to its original home. The French accounts, however, to which in all disputed cases we incline to give most credit, assign to them the southern shore of Lake Erie as their first seat. They appear to have been pushed towards Carolina by the Iroquois, who settled on Lake Ontario when they were driven from Montreal by the Algonquins. A tribe with a similar name was on the Delaware River in 1614. In 1694 a portion of the Shawnees emigrated from the South, and settled among the Minnissinks above the forks of the Delaware. When La Salle established his post on the Illinois, they were drawn thither. Some of them lived on the borders of Virginia. In the last half of the

seventeenth century their home was on the upper waters of the Cumberland. Here they first appear in actual history.

The second paper—To what Race did the Moundbuilders belong?—was written for the Congrès International des Américanistes, which met at Luxembourg in September, 1877. It ascribes these curious structures, scattered over the United States, to a people materially different from the Indians of to-day. The works are of various character, and erected for different purposes. Some are fortifications, signal stations, others substructures for temples or dwellings, some cemeteries and others single graves. Some of the larger conical mounds show evident stratifications as though tiers of bodies had been interred at one time, and covered with earth. Some represent effigies prone on the earth, others are in mathematical figures, simple or in sections. They are to be found scattered from Texas to Carolina, on the Mississippi, in Wisconsin and Minnesota, and on the Upper Missouri and its affluents. These latter are massive defensive works. The three belts of Ohio, the valley of the Miamis to the west, the Scioto Valley in the center, and Muskingum Valley to the east, appear to have been the homes of three different, though kindred, tribes. The mounds differ in magnitude. Many of them are sixty, some ninety feet high. That at Cahokia has a base of eight acres, and is ninety feet high, with a summit level of five acres, and contains about twenty million cubic feet of earth. The defensive work on the Little Miami, called Fort Ancient, has an embankment four miles in circuit, part of it twenty feet high, and, extending out to the front from the main entrance, two parallel lines of embankment, making a covered way more than a thousand feet long. The works above Newark, O., comprise twelve miles of embankments; those at Portsmouth, twenty miles. Equally striking is the relation of the works to each other, indicating a system of national defence, surrounded by signal mounds, which could transmit an alarm for a distance of a hundred miles. Such a system of works imply a people governed by a central directing power, and also a sedentary laboring population. This population was not only an agricultural, but a mining people. The copper mines on Lake Superior were extensively worked. The Moundbuilders and the Pueblo Indians have so many points of resemblance that the one might be taken for the other. Nor yet in the opinion of Mr. Force is there anything in the condition of the Moundbuilders inconsistent with the idea of their having been tribes of North American Indians. The growth of trees in the mounds gives some idea of the age in which the builders lived, and show that the works must have been abandoned at least

six or eight hundred years ago, perhaps much earlier. As to the Lake Superior mines, there are widely different opinions; Mr. Gilman concluding that they were abandoned eight hundred years ago, while Dr. Lapham believes them to have been worked as recently as the early French settlement of the Northwest. As for the argument to be deduced from the study of the skulls, Mr. Force draws the conclusion that there is no peculiarity or characteristic differing from those common to the crania of living tribes.

Mr. Force calls attention to the game of "chungke," played with a stick and stone discs by the Creeks, Choctaws, Cherokees and Chickasaws, the ancient game of the Southern Indians, and the constant finding of just such stone discs in the mounds. The stone implements of the ancient and modern people do not materially differ, nor yet their pottery. The mound-builders the author considers to have been driven from their fortresses and their territory, and forced into the tract bordering on the Gulf of Mexico, where, mingled with the conquering tribes, they lost some of their industries, but preserved some of their traits. He concludes that they were of the same race as tribes now living; that they were as civilized as the Pueblo Indians; that they flourished a thousand years ago, and earlier and later, and that in the tribes near the Gulf of Mexico were preserved some of their customs and some of their lineage till after the discovery of America by Columbus.

THE COLORED CADET AT WEST POINT. Autobiography of Lieutenant HENRY OSSIAN FLIPPER, U. S. A., First Graduate of Color from the U. S. Military Academy. 12mo, pp. 322. HOMER LEE & Co. New York, 1878.

We begin a notice of this volume, which is likely to hold its place among American biographies, by mentioning the honest praise bestowed upon the authorities at West Point during the period of Lieutenant Flipper's cadetship. In his own words, "All he could say of the professors and officers at the Academy would be unqualifiedly in their favor." Flipper was born a slave in Georgia in 1856. His early education was received at the school of the American Missionary Association at Atlanta, the Storrs' School and the Atlantic University. He was a freshman in the collegiate department when he received his appointment as a cadet, on the recommendation of the Hon. J. C. Freeman, member of Congress from the Fifth District of Tennessee. He was graduated in 1877, and now holds a commission of Second Lieutenant of Cavalry in the United States Army. As to his personal experiences at the Point, he is reticent in this autobiography. The majority of the corps, he says,

were gentlemen, who treated him on all occasions with proper politeness; but there were exceptions. But is this not the case in all classes of all colleges. His graduation was the occasion of comments from the press, as varied no doubt as his treatment from his fellows. Those who expect to find in this volume that Flipper was a persecuted martyr, or yet his graduation the signal for a social millenium in the army, will be equally disappointed. He received all that law entitled to him to receive, the courtesy and unprejudiced care of his superiors. Social distinctions are beyond the reach of legislation. Equality before the law the colored race are entitled to, and will ultimately receive. All other equality they must conquer of and by themselves. Outside interference will retard, but can never hasten it.

NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS MADE

DURING FOUR YEARS OF SERVICE WITH THE NINETY-EIGHTH NEW YORK VOLUNTEERS IN THE WAR OF 1861. By WILLIAM KREUTZER, Colonel. 8vo, pp. 368. Philadelphia, 1878.

This work is compiled essentially from notes and observations made at the time of the occurrences the author describes. We almost wish that he had given us his impressions unchanged from his original minutes. These are the true "blood and smoke stained" pages, which are invaluable to the historian. The author leaves us in no doubt as to his politics. "It is thirteen years," he reminds us, "since the army was disbanded and Congress assumed command; and still that fair domain of ten States is literally a howling wilderness and an insurrectionary chaos;" and equally frank is his opinion of the cause for this state of things. "The large estates of the South should have been confiscated or purchased, and resurveyed and broken up; they should have been given to our soldiers and landless millions. So the nations assimilate and hold their conquests; so Rome subdued the world."

The Ninety-eighth was raised in the counties of Franklin, Wayne and Ontario. The primary organizations were made in the fall of 1861, and the regiment constituted in February, 1862, and was at once sent forward to Washington, where it was attached to Casey's division, and thoroughly drilled by that admirable and efficient officer. In April it made part of the celebrated peninsula campaign; and here we note an observation of Colonel Kreutzer on this movement. No expedition on record, he says, ever moved with such rapidity; in twelve days the Government transported 121,500 men, 14,591 animals, 1,150 wagons, 44 batteries, and 74 ambulances, besides an enormous amount of equipment, provisions and other impedimenta of war; a fact which history may safely be challenged

to rival. The battle of Williamsburg is condemned as a military blunder. Competent critics we believe bear him out in this judgment. In May Casey was assigned to command at the White House, and General Peck replaced him in his division.

After the failure of the peninsula campaign, in all the battles of which it took part, the Ninety-eighth was attached to the expedition against North Carolina, and participated in the capture of Port Royal Harbor, from which they were sent to the attack on Charleston which Gillmore led. Later the Ninety-eighth was returned to Beaufort, and did good service in guarding the Atlantic and North Carolina railroad; later, when General Grant made the final movement, it took part with the Army of the James.

The book is written in a simple, pleasing style, and is full of personal incident and anecdote. It is a desirable contribution to the history of the war.

PRE-HISTORIC COPPER IMPLEMENTS.

An open letter to the Historical Society of Wisconsin. By the Rev. EDMUND F. SLAFTER.

8vo, pp. 15. Privately Printed. Boston, 1879.

In this letter the remarkable progress made by the Wisconsin Society in the collection of the pre-historic remains of the Western valleys—a collection which in 1876 reached—*stone* implements alone—nine thousand pieces, representing most, if not all, of the occupations of a race, all record of whom is lost, but whose daily life and domestic economy may be almost reconstituted from these silent witnesses. Important as this collection is, it is overmatched and dwarfed by the collection of pre-historic *copper* implements, now numbering one hundred and ninety different articles, some evidently cast in moulds, and nearly all of which have been discovered in this decade. There appear, therefore, to be different data upon which to predicate a satisfactory solution to the problem, whether the makers or users of these implements were the same people who occupied the country when first discovered by Europeans, or an earlier race, antedating the American Indian. Further discoveries of new implements may have a decisive bearing on the final disposition of this question, but as it now stands the balance of evidence supplied by these implements, and the fact that all those of copper are of the same class as the stone, and similar to those known to have been made and used by the American Indians, leads to the logical inference that they were made and used by the same people. Such is the view of Mr. Slafter; but we do not see why the north-western race, which is supposed to have conquered the Moundbuilders, and to have occupied

their country, might not have learned the arts of the conquered, precisely as the hordes of northern barbarians that overrun the south of Europe, or the Goths, who conquered Arabian Spain, learned from them their arts and industries.

There is abundant evidence, however, that the Indians discovered by the French explorers were acquainted with the use of copper, while it is equally clear that the English explorers of the higher latitudes found no such implements among the Esquimaux, whose boats and huts, like their garments, were made of the skins of wild beasts. Mr. Slafter gives the original and translation of such parts of the journals of Jacques Cartier, Jean Alfonse and Champlain as refer to the use of red copper, or, as the Indians called it, *caignetdaze*. Champlain gives a description of the mode of manufacture as he heard it from an Algonquin chief, fresh from the copper region, in 1610.

Such papers as this are invaluable in their succinct treatment of single branches of the subject. The modern monograph is the most satisfactory method of historic or philosophic presentation.

THE CELEBRATION OF THE QUARTER-MILLENNIAL ANNIVERSARY OF THE REFORMED PROTESTANT DUTCH CHURCH OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK, 1623-1878, NOVEMBER 21, 1878.

Not many such commemorations as this have occurred in the New World, with which the very name of Quarter-Millennial seems at discord. The Reformed Protestant Dutch Church was the mother of the Dutch churches in the city of New York. The anniversary was commemorated with solemn dignity. Dr. Thomas E. Vermilye, the senior pastor of the church, delivered an historical discourse, in which he traced its ecclesiastical origin from the established church of Holland. For forty years the Collegiate was the only church in New Amsterdam, its first meeting place being in 1626 in a large upper room over a horse-mill; in 1633, in a wooden building, near what is now Old Slip; in 1642, a new stone edifice was erected, in which it worshipped until 1693, when the Garden street church was built. It was not till 1696 that it obtained from William of Orange a first regular charter, preceding a year or two that of Trinity. In 1729 the old Middle, on Cedar and Liberty streets, long called the New Dutch Church, and since used for the Post Office, was dedicated, and in 1769 the North, corner of William and Fulton, then in the Fields. The old church in the Fort was named St. Nicholas. The antiquary and the student of evangelical history will find abundant matter for study in these pages.

EVERT AUGUSTUS DUYCKINCK; HIS LIFE, WRITINGS AND INFLUENCE. A Memoir. By SAMUEL OSGOOD, D.D., LL.D. Reprinted from the New England Historical and Genealogical Register for April, 1879, 8vo, pp. 16. DAVID CLAPP & SON, printers. Boston, 1879.

In the April number of the Magazine [III. 268] attention was called to the Memorial Sketch of Mr. Duyckinck read before the New York Historical Society by Mr. William Allen Butler. In the present memoir many details and incidents of the lamented scholar, by another intimate associate, happily supplement that which preceded it. We here find a careful account of Mr. Duyckinck's progenitors and parentage and a picture of the circle in which he was a leading spirit a quarter of a century ago, when Irving, Cooper, Halleck, Bryant, Charles King, William Kent, and the genial divine, Dr. Bethune, made a galaxy in the literary firmament, which attracted and riveted every eye.

Dr. Osgood examines the career of his subject from a New England point of view, and recognises in him the influence of the English type of literature, which Irving, while original in matter, closely followed and rivalled in his admirable manner. New England thought was diverted into another direction, which Dr. Osgood terms the Transcendental or German school, by Ralph Waldo Emerson. New York easily led the way in what is called belles-lettres; history, romance and essays.

The various contributions of Mr. Duyckinck in these several branches are carefully recorded in these lines. In addition, there is a section devoted to the mental and moral characteristics of Mr. Duyckinck, in which justice is done to his liberal instincts, while the tenacity with which he clung to the old faith and culture is pointed out. This is a correct appreciation of his nature. While in nothing a bigot, Mr. Duyckinck loved the old. With all the gentleness and amenity of his race, he had also all of its unswerving persistency. As a literary man, he may well be termed the last of the Knickerbockers. There are none to tread in his shoes.

MINUTES OF THE MEDICAL SOCIETY OF THE COUNTY OF NEW YORK, 1806-1878. A. E. M. PURDY, M. D., editor. Part I. 8vo, pp. 64. Published by the Society. New York, 1879.

In this well-edited and beautifully printed pamphlet are given the "Proceedings of the Physicians and Surgeons of the County of New York convened on the 1st day of July, 1806,"

in the front court-room of the City Hall, according to an Act of the Legislature of the State of the 4th April, 1806, "to incorporate Medical Societies for the purpose of regulating the practice of Physic and Surgery in this State." Among the names of those who attended this first meeting the old New Yorker will especially note those of Romayne, who heads the list, Anthon, Proudfit, Barrow, Moore, Post, Miller, Kissam, Hosack, Mac Neven, and Van Beuren, all famous in their day. Dr. Nicholas Romayne was elected President of "The Medical Society of the County of New York" then and there formed. The original resolution declared all members of the profession, authorized to practice by law in New York and Kings county at the period of the organization, to be *ipso facto et de jure* members of the corporation.

This first block brings the minutes of the Society to the 8th October, 1808. On this day, it is interesting to note, that one Mrs. Louisa Kastner was recommended as a practitioner of midwifery.

A TRIBUTE TO THE OLDEN TIME—
NEW YORK, 1609-1878. Pp. 10.

The 250th anniversary of the oldest church in New York City, of which Dr. Vermilye is senior pastor, suggested these stanzas to Mr. A. V. W. Van Vechten on occasion of the Annual Festival of the St. Nicholas Society, 6th December, 1878, a society of which Dr. Vermilye is Chaplain. The bright color of the tinted paper on which the lines are printed is appropriate to the Orange leaflet.

POEMS OF PLACES. Edited by HENRY W. LONGFELLOW. AMERICA—WESTERN STATES. 16mo, pp. 254. Riverside Press. HOUGHTON, OSGOOD & CO. Boston, 1879.

This is the fifth in the series of these attractive volumes under the heading of America. We naturally seek in it the names of those who have made us acquainted with the glories of Western scenery. Here in stately measure Bryant describes "the Prairies, Gardens of the Desert, the unshorn fields, boundless and beautiful, for which the speech of England has no name," and Whittier follows close in lines majestic and serene. The wonders of the Mammoth Cave inspire the muse of George D. Prentice. Bret Harte delights with his descriptions of the golden land of California, and amuses with his striking drawings of character. In this volume also may be found Prentice's inspiring ode on Lookout Mountain, the scene of the battle in the clouds, which turned the scale of the Western campaign.





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THE TRADITIONAL AND THE REAL WASHINGTON

EIGHTY years have not passed since the death of George Washington, and already he is hidden from us in some degree by a haze of eulogy and tradition. He has been so uniformly extolled that some of our young men tell us, with a yawn, that they are tired of hearing Aristides called The Just. He has been edited into obscurity, like a Greek play. Where the genial and friendly soldier wrote "Old Pat," a respectable editor, devoid of the sense of humor, has substituted General Putnam; until, at length, a lover of the man has to defend him against the charge of perfection. "What have I done, sir, that I should be accused of being perfect?" It seems as if the persons who have taken in charge the fame of this admirable citizen have written in the spirit of Alexander Hamilton who, at the age of twenty, expressed the opinion that "it was necessary the General should be supported." He has been supported to such a point, that now he is chiefly known to the lighter spirits of his country as the hero of a comic song entitled, "The little Hatchet."

We can trace part of the process by which a modest and interesting character has been clouded into a tedious demi-god. For some years before his death he was claimed as the property of a political party, and eulogized accordingly. But the opposition, not allowing the claim, eulogized also, and would not be outdone in eulogy. He came to his biographers, therefore, enveloped in incense, and they, with one accord, from ponderous Marshall to fanciful Weems, from genial Irving to stately Everett, place him on a pedestal, and insist on making him a colossal statue. The least known of these authors has been the most read; he created the Washington of the Sunday-School library and barber-shop art.

Toward the close of the last century an eccentric book-seller, Weems by name, used to ride about in the southern States with an assortment of literature in his little wagon, and a fiddle under the seat. He sold